UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

NTSIKANA : HISTORY AND SYMBOL

STUDIES IN A PROCESS OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE AMONG XHOSA-SPEAKING PEOPLE

Vol. 1

JANET HODGSON

AUGUST 1985

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities at the University of Cape Town. Under the supervision of Professor J.S. Cumpsty.

For

Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe

and

Professor H.W. Pahl

who introduced me to the Xhosa heritage

ABSTRACT

The figure of Ntsikana, both as a man of history and as an historical symbol, is the focus of this study. I argue that change may come about by giving new meanings to old forms and images or by taking the new forms and content and filling them with the old, and that these two sets continue to exist side by side for a long time. Cumpsty's "Model of Religious Change in Socio-Cultural Disturbance" is used to identify the dynamics in the process and to explore the nature of the dialectic between innovation and assimilation of the new on the one hand, and continuity with the old on the other. The Ntsikana tradition is followed over a period of two hundred years and well illustrates the need to see religious change as part of an ongoing process within a particular social and historical context.

The evidence indicates that Ntsikana's innovations were most probably drawn from the teaching of Dr Vanderkemp and Joseph Williams, and can be analysed in two stages of development. But although his ministry involves the adoption of radically new beliefs and practices, continuity with the old is maintained through his use of elements of the Xhosa tradition as the point of departure and "carriers" of change. The dialectic in this process is epitomized in his Great hymn. The symbols and imagery which Ntsikana uses draw their power from being rooted in the everyday experience of the Xhosa, and the hymn provides a whole tapestry of symbolic relationships which are deeply enmeshed within the monistic world view. But Ntsikana gives them new meaning by planting them in the Christian context. He is thus able to meet the existential and interpretative needs of his followers who wish to come to terms with the new in their situation of socio-cultural disturbance.

Although Ntsikana's influence during his lifetime was limited to a small group of disciples, his teaching has had a lasting significance. He is seen to function like a prophet of the classical biblical type, who stands on the growing edge of a tradition and affirms the action of God in the historical process. His Christianity emphasized grace for change within the material and historical order. He was concerned with development rather than revolution. Ntsikana thus provides a *modus operandi* for survival and growth as one tradition is interpenetrated by another. His criticism of the threat that white culture as distinct from Christianity posed was based on his affirmation of the Xhosa way of life rather than upon a wholesale acceptance

of white Christian culture.

Ntsikana's creative response to Christianity has relevance to Xhosa Christianity in particular, to African Christianity in general, and to Christianity throughout the world. But above all he was the one who was first able to be a Christian while remaining an African. That is why he remains the inspiration of both those African Christians who are dedicated to peaceful change and to those Africans, Christians or not, who are concerned about the rediscovery and preservation of African culture in the modern world.

In contrast, Nxele, the contemporary and rival of Ntsikana, is thaumaturgical and apocalyptic. His prophecies are an attempt to manipulate the divine powers to the purposes of man. Radical discontinuity constitutes his understanding of divine intervention and he makes no attempt to integrate the tradition with what he is receiving from the incoming culture. He therefore closes down on growth.

Nxele is the crisis figure who becomes a symbol of militant resistance which is grasped at again and again in times of acute socio-cultural disturbance. By relating to him, his followers relate to the ultimately real, and the charms he advocates become the sacraments through which they can be indirectly linked through him to the powers, even long after his death. The beliefs he advocates become a flag of rallying so that when they fail to materialize it is of little consequence. What is important is that they provide the necessary focus of belonging and this is a uniting symbol of resistance. Nxele thus becomes a heroic figure in the Black Consciousness Movement and he may well inspire the revolutionaries of tomorrow who are committed to violent change. This is especially so of the traditionalists and the black youth who reject Christianity.

The differences in the symbolic standing of Ntsikana and Nxele have continued to this day with new permutations constantly evolving as competing groups look for symbolic legitimation. These different developments have taken the form of so-called Ethiopian, Zionist and Messianic churches, mutual aid societies and cultural organizations with a marked religious orientation, thaumaturgical (what I call exspectatus movements) and militant resistance movements. The classification of these movements simply in terms of structure is in danger of obscuring rather than elucidating the dynamics in the historical process of religious change. Instead, I use Cumpsty's model to identify different stages of religious development with the need for a sense of belonging being the constant factor in

how people respond to different levels of disturbance in their socio-cultural experience. Within this sort of understanding I trace the development of both nationalist and pietist movements in the Ntsikana tradition in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Throughout this period music and oral and written literature provide a common pool of African symbols from which the different groups draw for legitimation. At the same time Ntsikana is an enduring source of creative inspiration in the different artistic fields, so constantly revitalizing the tradition.

I argue that the seminal importance of Ntsikana is that he is the over-arching symbol through which African people have found unity in all the complexity of their diversity. The study of the Ntsikana tradition shows that there is a constant seeking after integrating symbol with experience, and experience with symbol, so that symbol rather than structure becomes a significant methodological focus. Apart from recording the background, life and history of Ntsikana, therefore, this project has given rise to a number of new understandings concerning the processes of change and ways of modelling these processes. These are drawn together in a concluding section.

CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been in preparation for ten years. Professor John Cumpsty, Head of the Department of Religious Studies at U.C.T., has supervised the work from the start and to him I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude for his constant guidance and encouragement, for the stimulation of his vision, and for the excitement of exploring new worlds of thought with its ongoing debate. Father David Dargie of Lumko Missiological Institute, Lady Frere, has assisted me with most of the field research and I thank him especially for his endless kindness in taking me round the countryside, often in very difficult conditions, and for his abounding enthusiasm for his work in Xhosa music and for our studies together on Ntsikana.

Many other people have helped me in the course of my field research since 1978. The fascination of this sort of work is that one is welcomed into the homes of a wide variety of people, in town and country. I thank them all for their patience in answering my many questions, for their generosity in sharing the richness of their past, for their gracious hospitality at all times of the day and night, and above all for their friendship and the fun we had together in searching for material on Ntsikana.

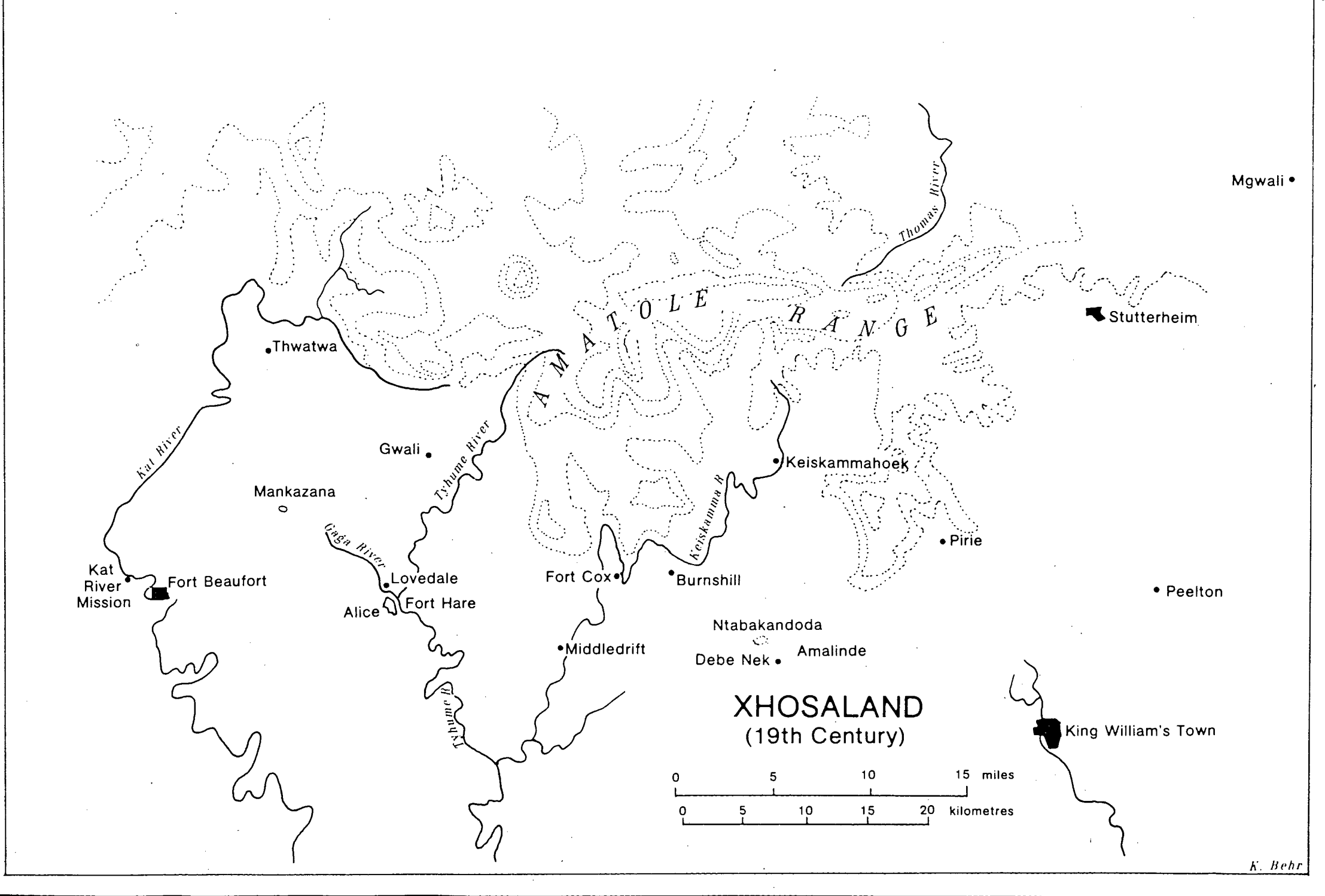
This thesis is dedicated to Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe and Professor H.W. Pahl, Director of the Xhosa Dictionary Project, who in their different ways have contributed so much to the depth of my studies. I am immensely grateful to Mrs Ethel Pahl too for reading through my manuscript and correcting my grammar. Numerous people assisted with translations of Xhosa documents over the years. I am indebted to Mr Luke Duma in particular, and for his interpreting at various functions. Others I would like to mention are Father A. Fischer, Mr Manton Hirst, Rev. C.C.M.D. Hoyana, Father H. Kuckertz, the staff of Lumko Institute, the late Professors Z.S. Qangule and Monica Wilson, Mrs V.N. Tabata and the Ntsikana Memorial Church, and the executive and members of the St Ntsikana Memorial Association.

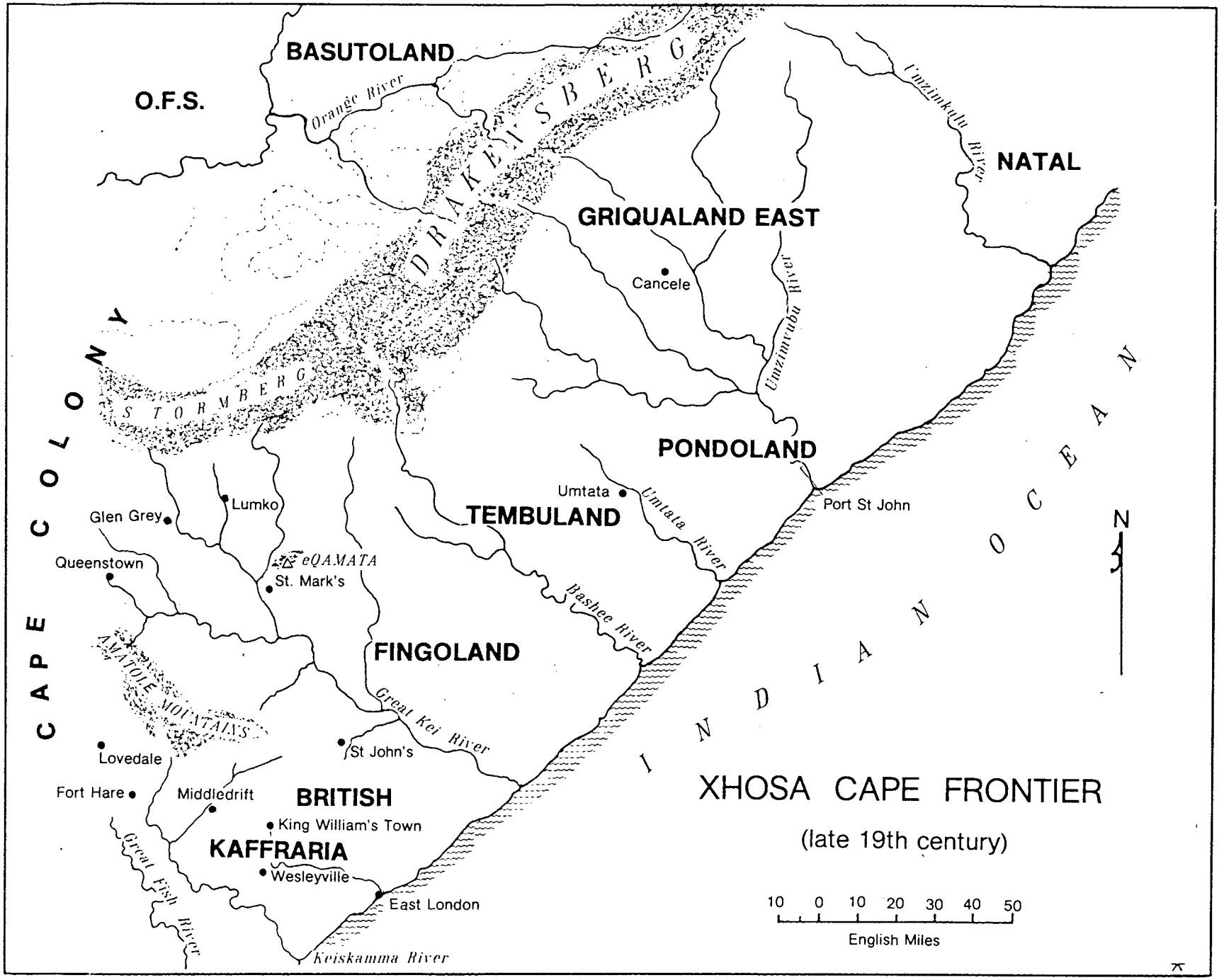
I would like to thank Mr K. Behr for drawing the maps, the staff in the Cory Library at Rhodes University and the Africana section in the Jagger Library at U.C.T. for their assistance in tracing rare documents and books, and my colleagues in the Department of Religious Studies who bullied me into getting my thesis finished.

The "production team" was headed by my husband, John. I am tremendously grateful to him not only for handling the practical side of presenting my thesis, but also for

standing by me and giving me so much loving support and encouragement all these years. My daughter, Carol, also assisted with the processing of the final copy. Mrs Avril Fletcher must be thanked for doing sterling work with the monumental job of typing, assisted by Margaret Sheppard and Leslie Fothergill; and I am greatly indebted to them for sacrificing so much spare time on my behalf. Finally, a word of thanks to my parents, Mr and Mrs Harry Wood and my sons Michael, James and Alastair, who all cheered me on from the sidelines.

The field research could not have been carried out without generous support from a number of people and institutions. I gratefully acknowledge financial assistance from Father F. Barrett, OFM, Director of the Institute for Catholic Education, the Harry Oppenheimer Institute for African Studies at U.C.T., the Human Sciences Research Council and the Wertenweiler Charitable Trust. The opinions expressed and conclusions reached are the author's and are not to be regarded as those of any of the bodies mentioned.


AMATOLE RANGE
Thomas River
Mgwali
Stutterheim
Thwatwa
Kat River
Tyhume River
Gwali
Keiskammahoek
Keiskamma R
Mankazana
Gaga River
Pirie
Kat River Mission
Fort Beaufort
Lovedale
Alice
Fort Hare
Fort Cox
Burnshill
Peelton
Ntabakandoda
Middledrift
Debe Nek
Amalinde
Tyhume R
XHOSALAND
(19th Century)
0 5 10 15 miles
0 5 10 15 20 kilometres
King William's Town
K. Behr


BASUTOLAND
O.F.S.
Orange River
DRAKENSBERG
Umzimkulu River
NATAL
GRIQUALAND EAST
Cancele
Umzimvubu River
CAPE COLONY
STORMBERG
PONDOLAND
Umtata
Umtata River
Port St John
Lumko
Glen Grey
TEMBULAND
eQAMATA
Queenstown
St. Mark's
Bashee River
FINGOLAND
AMATOLE MOUNTAINS
Great Kei River
St John's
Lovedale
Fort Hare
Middledrift
BRITISH
King William's Town
KAFFRARIA
Wesleyville
Great Fish River
East London
Keiskamma River
INDIAN OCEAN
N
XHOSA CAPE FRONTIER
(late 19th century)
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
English Miles

INTRODUCTION

My work in the field of African religion began in 1971 with a study of the early history of Zonnebloem College. This was presented for a Masters thesis in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town four years later. (1) Zonnebloem was founded in Cape Town in 1858 by the first Anglican Bishop, Robert Gray, and Governor Sir George Grey for the children of African chiefs. As the combined venture of church and state the College epitomized the identification between the religious aspirations of the missionary endeavour and the secular motives of colonialism.

Zonnebloem was established as a partial solution to the more than seventy years of conflict on the Xhosa-Cape Frontier. The failure of successive Governors to secure lasting peace by either diplomatic means or military control led Sir George Grey to devise a plan of social control through a long-term programme of cultural change. Industrial education was integral to the promotion of "Christianity and civilization" among the Xhosa-speaking people and this was to be spearheaded by an elitist institution in Cape Town. However, it was the founders' intention that the College should extend its outreach to as far north as the Zambezi. The future African leaders were to be pulled out of their social matrix and totally immersed in the new way of life. It was hoped that on their return home their Christian and liberal education would not only enable them to implant western beliefs, values and practices within their indigenous social fabric, but that it would also encourage them to further the peaceful occupation of the interior by the British. The objective was the conversion of chiefdoms as a whole rather than of individuals. My thesis therefore dealt with the Zonnebloem experience up to 1870 followed by case studies of the subsequent careers of selected students so as to make some evaluation of the fruits of their education.

As I traced the life histories of this educated elite from "college to kraal", (2) what struck me most was the suffering which they all had to endure in trying to come to terms with the conflicting demands of competing cultures. On the one hand their cultural conversion to an Anglicized way of life and religious conversion to Christianity had alienated them from their roots, while on the other they were not accepted by white frontier society and on occasion became pawns in the political arena. (3) Their education which had been designed to bridge the two worlds had in fact left them without a home in either. Inevitably their

need for a sense of belonging drove them to make some sort of compromise with their African heritage, whether it be participating in traditional rituals, a polygamous marriage or joining their countrymen in trying to resist the white advance. Judged by the inflexible standards of Victorian morality and the code of loyalty to the British crown they were found wanting on every count. So it was that the grand symbiotic enterprise of mission and empire came close to destroying its own products.

The Zonnebloem experiment was an extreme example of the way in which Christianity was presented in a western cultural package to African people. Nonetheless, it seemed to me that the missionary attempt to graft foreign concepts onto the African tradition would always be divisive, and that there must have been ways in which the gospel was imparted so that it took root and grew within the indigenous culture so as to become an integral part of religious experience. In addition, there was the need to overcome the limitations of a dualistic theoretical model so as to allow for the analysis of religious change as part of an ongoing historical process.

My search for historical evidence to support my thesis began with the Xhosa-speaking people because it was they who dominated the early Zonnebloem history. Thus it was that in going back in time I discovered that the Xhosa associate Ntsikana, (4) who lived from about 1780 to 1821, with sowing the seed of the gospel among them. His influence, however, is not limited to the past. The meaning of his life and work has been fostered by succeeding generations of Xhosa Christians and his teaching, his prophecies and his hymns are still a vital part of the living tradition concerning him.

The hymns which Ntsikana composed were the earliest in Xhosa and can be regarded as the beginnings of an African theology in Southern Africa. From the start his creative response to Christianity enabled his followers to express their new faith in worship in a truly African way. Following the widespread publication of Ntsikana's "Great hymn" in most denominational hymn-books during the nineteenth century, black people throughout the country came to value his compositions as a deeply meaningful African expression of Christianity and this holds true to this day. In time Ntsikana came to be widely revered by black people as a "prophet" sent to them by God, and as a saint.

In this thesis I shall be tracing the Ntsikana tradition over the past two hundred years to show how Xhosa Christianity evolved as part of an ongoing process of

religious and social change. Because it cannot be the norm for a mass of individuals suddenly to "unself", I will be arguing that change may come about by giving new meanings to old forms and images, or by taking the new forms and content and filling them with the old, and that the two sets of meaning will continue to exist side by side for a considerable period of time. What is needed is a model which takes both aspects into account and explores the dialectical processes involved. The theoretical structure of the thesis will therefore focus on the nature of the dynamic tension between continuity with the old on the one hand, and assimilation and innovation of the new on the other, as the Xhosa sought to meet their existential and interpretative needs in a situation of rapidly increasing change. Cumpsty's "Model of Religious Change in Socio-Cultural Disturbance" (5) will be tested as a means of identifying the dynamics in this historical process, especially the correlation between different religious responses and different levels of disturbance, and as a way of relating symbol to historical experience.

Within this framework I will be showing how Ntsikana imparted a new world view to his people by using elements of their own tradition as the point of departure and "carriers" of change, so enabling Christianity to become integrated into the African experience. The way in which Ntsikana drew on the symbols, literary forms, myths, music, folklore and rituals of the Xhosa tradition so as to give authority to the new teaching demonstrates how continuity was maintained in the process of religious change. In particular his hymns exemplify this method of assimilating the new by taking hold of African symbols and imagery and filling them with Christian meaning, the new content being centred on the historical figure of Christ. The use of hymns was in itself a radical innovation as was the regular meeting together for worship but the context remained African as Ntsikana remained living among his people. The synthesis of African Christianity was thus achieved when he articulated the new language of faith and its expression in ritual in an African idiom.

There is evidence to show that the changes which Ntsikana brought about in religious form and content moved through various stages so as to serve the spiritual needs of his people who were themselves adjusting to the changes brought about by increased contact with the whites. In passing I will also show how Ntsikana's influence in the fields of Xhosa politics, literature and music were part of this same process of cultural transformation. In other words, Ntsikana offered a bridging myth which provided

symbols for where his people were at a particular period in time. But the measure of his genius is that this same symbol system, albeit with the addition of the figure of Ntsikana himself, proved flexible enough to transcend time and fit the needs of widely differing groups of people over the next century and a half.

I will be arguing that Ntsikana's response to socio-cultural disturbance was to seek the enrichment of Xhosa tradition which therefore continued to remain open to growth after his death. This will be contrasted with the response of his contemporary and rival, Nxele (Makhanda), who became entirely protective of Xhosa tradition, a defensive solution which tended to close down on growth. I believe it can be shown that at different points in time the symbolic significance of the Ntsikana tradition continued to have a profound influence on the life of the Xhosa, the needs of different people at different stages determining whether the emphasis was on nationalism or on personal religion. This is exemplified in the founding of the St Ntsikana Memorial Association in 1909 and the Ntsikana Memorial Church in 1911. From an analytical point of view the development of different socio-political and religious movements associated with Ntsikana will be used to illustrate the historical dimension of the dynamic tension between continuity on the one hand and on assimilation and innovation on the other in the ongoing process of religious and social change among the Xhosa.

Historically Ntsikana was a man of peace and was a believer in the power of divine grace. At the present time his followers are mainly numbered among the so-called moderate black Christians who have a universalistic concept of unity and are dedicated to non-violence. In addition, the figure of Ntsikana has become identified with the cause of Xhosa unity. He has become a focus for a revival of interest in the Xhosa cultural heritage and history. Because of this identification Ntsikana is something of an enigma to those whose ideal of Xhosa unity is exclusivist. He is also regarded by many black people as a focus for a wider African unity. Ntsikana is clearly a symbolic figure whose place in history has taken on new meaning in the context of the black cultural renaissance. Precisely because his impact has been so great and has survived so long his significance to the whole social scientific study of cross cultural communication in general, and to religion in particular, cannot be exaggerated.

The story of Ntsikana as related in the oral tradition was written down by a number of his disciples and their descendants. Added to this are brief accounts by

missionaries, historians and modern black writers. Most of this material is descriptive rather than analytical, concentrating on the more dramatic aspects of Ntsikana's life. This is the main source of information but, as with all charismatic figures, much has been added to the tradition with the passing of time and cognisance must be taken of the hagiographical bias and the reading in of Christian content in sifting fact from fancy, while recognizing the continuing effective power of these fantasies. This is equally applicable to the oral tradition which is another source of information, and these factors will be discussed in the following section.

In recent years Ntsikana has come under the scrutiny of academics from a number of different disciplines where he impinged on their specific studies. These include Peires in Xhosa history, (6) Dargie in African church music, (7) Opland in a comparative literary study, (8) and Couzens in black writing in English. (9) Their insights have added much to expanding the scope of this work; but this is the first major analysis of Ntsikana's contribution to the history of religion in Southern Africa and incidentally the first extended biography. (10)

Because by its very nature this thesis moves backwards and forwards between history and tradition, between religion and other aspects of culture, chapter headings on their own would be little help to the reader in locating particular sections in the work. I have therefore provided a detailed table of contents which will serve also to give the reader an overall picture of the study. I am conscious that by usual standards this is a very long thesis. Nevertheless, it is presented without apology for it seemed important to provide in one place the mass of primary material which it has been my good fortune to locate throughout ten years of intensive research into the Ntsikana tradition. Something like one third of the material is contained in notes and bibliography. But much of it is essential to the unfolding story and remains in the body of the text.

In trying to discern the development of the major movements within the whole dynamic process, much detail has had to be sacrificed. But I believe that any deficiency is outweighed by the value of a holistic view, looking not only at religion, but at the political and economic circumstances, literature and music, not fixed at a moment in time but developing over two centuries. For example, to touch and leave the Black Consciousness Movement in a few paragraphs makes one ashamed. Even so the approach is believed to have been profitable because it allows the

sinews of religious and social change to stand out. It is true that the examination of detail may force one to recast an established overview, but without the overview there is no way of either interpreting or interrelating the detail one is examining. In fact the justification of the overview which has emerged will lie precisely in its power to integrate and interpret the multivarious aspects of African religion and culture.

1. SOURCES

The material for this study has been drawn from three main types of source : oral tradition, Xhosa written tradition and European sources. They are discussed briefly in order to determine their limitations. A detailed discussion will be found in chapters 7 and 8.

1.1 Oral Tradition

In the absence of written records of their past the Xhosa, in common with other non-literate peoples, preserved their myths, history, legends, folklore and songs by handing them down by word of mouth from one generation to the next. (11) Since Ntsikana's death in 1821, the oral tradition concerning him has continued alongside the written tradition and has been subject to the forms of distortion common to most oral traditions. This is examined with reference to Xhosa historiography as given in a scholarly analysis by Peires. (12)

Peires notes that there are three types of Xhosa oral tradition directly related to history : genealogies (*iminombo*), praises (*izibongo*) and tales (*amabali*, singular *ibali*). The tales are the most important historically and are relevant in that the story of Ntsikana is one of the twelve basic *amabali* which, according to Peires, any well-informed Xhosa will know to this day. (13) This has been confirmed in my interviews with a broad cross-section of Xhosa during the past ten years. (14)

In general the *amabali* have neither a set form nor an institutionalized method of transmission. (15) They were narrated by the old women round the fires at night, (16) by the old men in the courts of chiefs and meeting-places in the homestead, (17) and in the circumcision schools. The Ntsikana tradition differs from the other *amabali*, however, in that from the beginning it was also preserved in a formal Christian context. A grandson recalls that after Ntsikana's death his disciples continued to follow their usual practice of meeting together morning and evening for

worship. No other hymns but Ntsikana's were sung while his story was their only sermon. (18) Over the years the tradition was passed down through successive generations of his followers, (19) and it is still narrated at their church services and memorial celebrations today. (20) In this transmission process loss of memory and political factors have played an important part in bringing about distortion, as is the case with the other amabali. Peires suggests that the relatively loose form and method of transmission of the Xhosa oral traditions make them particularly vulnerable. Furthermore, for these same reasons, "they are also liable to distortion through transposition of setting, aetiological error, lack of time depth, telescoping and contamination from written sources". (21) With Ntsikana there has also been the need to add prestige to an heroic figure.

Research has shown that the problem of feedback from printed sources (22) is of particular significance in the Ntsikana tradition. Nearly all my informants were literate and no matter whether they had attended school in town or village, Ciskei or Cape Town, they seemed to have had some contact with the written tradition. The story of Ntsikana as given by S.E.K. Mqhayi in The Stewart Xhosa Readers for Standard VI has had a particularly pervasive influence. (23) The versions published by Bennie (24) and Rubusana (25) in their collections of oral tradition are also widely available. In addition, the input from modern black writers perpetuates the process of feedback and encourages the growth of the tradition to incorporate new ideas. (26) Thus while the oral tradition cannot add much to our stock of information about Ntsikana, it is nonetheless necessary to determine its function over time.

Overall the most important form of distortion in the Ntsikana tradition is due to the influence of mission Christianity. But where I fail to agree with Peires is in his evaluation of Ntsikana's conversion experience and Ntsikana's role as a prophet which are the grounds of the oral tradition. Whereas Peires acknowledges the limitations of the Xhosa oral traditions in general, he nonetheless argues that "whatever their literal truth, all traditions conceal some information of historical significance, even though it may be concealed in metaphorical or mythical form", and that it is essential for an attempt to be made to interpret the significance of this tradition. (27) He concludes by saying that "if an historian cannot understand a tradition, then he cannot possibly have understood the people who consider the tradition sufficiently important to keep alive. The most

compelling reason for the historian to make use of the oral tradition is that he cannot afford to ignore it." (28) It seems, however, that Peires has problems in understanding the significance of a religious tradition such as Ntsikana's.

Peires, in rejecting the reality of spiritual experience, (29) in denying to Ntsikana the status of Christian on the grounds of his relationship with his favourite ox, (30) and in his determination to see Ntsikana's "prophetic" role only in continuity with Xhosa tradition, (31) denies historical significance both to Ntsikana's self-understanding, and to the understanding of Ntsikana by his followers. That understanding deserves equal weight with modern day analysis of Ntsikana's actual influence during his lifetime, and all the weight in analysing his influence in succeeding generations. To deny the reality of Paul's experience on the Damascus road would not permit the historian to neglect the significance for Paul, and future generations, of Paul's understanding of that experience.

1.2 The Xhosa Written Tradition

The first written version of the story of Ntsikana in Xhosa was published in Ikwezi (The Morning Star) in the issues of February and December 1845. The evidence indicates a missionary author but the source of the tradition would have been Ntsikana's own family and disciples living at the Glasgow Missionary Society mission at Chumie. This material is of historical (32) as well as literary interest, although it is not the earliest writing by a Xhosa-speaker as is frequently claimed. (33) The earliest account of the Ntsikana tradition by a Xhosa-speaker was by his eldest son, William Kobe. This appeared in Indaba in 1864. Three other accounts by Ntsikana's disciples were published in Isigidimi samaXosa in 1878.

John Knox Bokwe used this material together with contributions by other of Ntsikana's followers to produce an English version of the oral tradition. This was first published in the Christian Express in 1878-79, (34) and reprinted as a booklet in 1904. (35) A revised edition which was supplemented with an Appendix in Xhosa appeared ten years later. (36) A grandson and a great grandson of Ntsikana, Nkohla Falati and Burnet Ntsikana (Gaba), left independent accounts of the oral tradition as handed down in different branches of the family. The first, which was written in 1895, remained unpublished, (37) while the

second was published in 1902. (38) Other unpublished material is undated and was recorded by William Kekale Kaye, "a native interpreter", some time during the nineteenth century. (39) Lastly, in his work on "the natives and their missionaries", Isaac Wauchope gives important additional material relating to the background of the oral tradition. (40)

Peires rightly criticizes the writers of the Ntsikana tradition, who were all products of mission education, as having a Christian bias which is detrimental to the historical value of their work. In some much is made of the external, i.e. missionary influence, in Ntsikana's life. In others allowance must be made for embellishments arising from oral transmission as well as "the hagiographical bias" referred to by Peires and Jordan. (41) For example, Bokwe is censured for omitting crucial evidence in Ntsikana's development which is detrimental to his image, although he reprints a Xhosa account containing this information. (42) As my study draws extensively on the written tradition it is necessary to defend my use of it.

In the first place, oral traditions do not set out to be verifiable by the criteria of the modern scientific historian. They needs must be authoritative otherwise they would soon be lost but this is not the same thing as historical verifiability. (43) Bokwe, for example, did not set out to write history as such. Rather, I will be showing that his various publications of Ntsikana's story between 1878 and 1914 were aimed at serving quite different purposes and must be evaluated accordingly. (44)

Secondly, Idowu maintains that the monistic world view of the African people must be taken into account in order to interpret their oral traditions correctly. (45) There is no distinction between the sacred and the secular, and this is reflected in the way man communicates history as part of his holistic experience.

Thirdly, analysis of the written tradition of Ntsikana shows substantial agreement on the main points of his life. The variations in detail are such as could be found in similar historical narratives. In order to establish the authenticity of Ntsikana's story and to evaluate the trends which the written tradition took at different periods, it is necessary to determine where possible the source and purpose of each literary text : why it was set down at that time and where, by whom it was written and for whom, what its function was, and so on. But quite apart from the degree of historical veracity contained within the oral tradition itself, and the transcriptions, one must not lose

sight of the fact that they were and are authoritative to the Xhosa and, therefore, had and have no less impact for any lack of historical veracity. Consequently, no part of them can be lightly dismissed for seemingly subjective reasons.

1.3 European Sources

There is considerable documentary evidence on the Xhosa from the pens of European travellers, missionaries, government officials, settlers, army officers and politicians during the early nineteenth century, (46) but very few contemporary references to Ntsikana. Unlike Nxele he was of no political importance so did not merit attention in any official government records or correspondence. Ntsikana had some contact with Joseph Williams (1816-18) but his effective ministry pre-dated the main missionary movement from 1820 on, and it was only after his death in 1821 that he came to the missionaries' notice through his disciples. Even then the references are brief and generally refer to the singing of the "Great hymn". Nonetheless this information is vital in authenticating certain details in the oral tradition, the words of the "Great hymn" in particular. This hymn was written down and translated by a number of different missionaries and settlers during the 1820s and 1830s. There are certain variations in content, Xhosa orthography, translation and the ordering of the lines, but it is one oral tradition that can stand up to historical scrutiny. (47)

In addition, the story of Ntsikana was recorded from the oral tradition by some missionaries. An unpublished manuscript by John Brownlee could well be the earliest version, but is undated. (48) However, his brief account of Ntsikana's ministry, last days and death, which was obtained through personal contact and was described in various reports in the early 1820s, is of critical importance. As I have noted, the earliest published source, "Imbaliso Ka-Ntsikana", appeared in Ikwezi in February 1845. (49) Not surprisingly, the tradition was reinterpreted with a strong missionary bias. Its reprinting in Isigidimi samaXosa in 1875, and again by Bokwe in 1914, must have had some influence on the living tradition. The most informative sources from an historical point of view were by two members of the Berlin Missionary Society, J.L. Döhne in 1844, (50) and A. Kropf, of Xhosa dictionary fame, in 1888. (51) They were written in German and so had no feedback into the Xhosa tradition.

2. TERMINOLOGY

The debate on terminology which has dogged anthropological studies in the past two decades has pointed to the sensitive nature of the issues involved with their socio-economic and political implications. (52) Without wishing to enter this debate it seems necessary to define briefly my use of certain key terms.

2.1 The Concept of Culture

The anthropological critique is directed against a view of culture as unchangeable, limited to some timeless "ethnographic present", and all determining, implying "a finite and exclusive aggregate of things learned by a given human population". (53) This reification of culture (54) has been attacked because, first, it is ahistorical and ignores the possible process of social change in Africa over the centuries. (55) Second, because it led to an ideology of "tribalism" which is said to have underpinned colonialism and the penetration of capitalism; (56) while in South Africa this ideology is said to have had far-reaching political implications in being used to legitimize the policy of separate development. (57) It is cogently argued that cultural, political and economic boundaries are not coterminous, nor have they ever been so either in the pre-colonial or colonial past. Consequently, culture cannot be compartmentalized as a neatly defined unit and abstracted for analysis from its social and historical context. Rather, modern anthropologists would stress the holistic and historical nature of their studies by viewing culture "as the set of cognitive resources acquired by people (not by a people) over time". (58)

It is clear that the term "culture" must be used circumspectly for anthropological purposes. (59) But the move to jettison the term in favour of "ambiguous synonyms" such as "ideology", "consciousness" or "superstructure" (60) seems to be carrying sensitivity too far, and would certainly be an unwelcome restraint. I will therefore follow Geertz's definition of culture which is used to denote

> an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge and attitudes towards life. (61)

Geertz goes on to explain his use of terms in defining religion as a cultural system. Of significance is his understanding of symbols as "tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgements, longings, or beliefs". (62) Furthermore, when the concept of world view is also under question, (63) it is useful to focus on Geertz's paradigm:

> viz. that sacred symbols function to synthesize a people's ethos - the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mode - and their world-view - the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order.

With reference to religious belief and practice this would mean

> a group's ethos is rendered intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs the world-view describes, while the world-view is rendered emotionally convincing by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs peculiarly well arranged to accomodate such a way of life.

Geertz concludes that "religious symbols formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and specific (if, most often, implicit) metaphysic, and in so doing sustain each with the borrowed authority of the other". (64) This understanding is crucial to my analysis of Ntsikana's use of symbols as carriers of change.

Cumpsty sums up by saying that perhaps culture is

> too inclusive a word for most anthropological purposes. In the study of religion however it remains useful to describe those widening circles of human social products centred on the constant dialogue between a set of gradually changing symbols for the ultimately real and an ongoing experience interpreted in the light of those symbols. (65)

2.2 Ethnicity

In line with the new developments in anthropology, the closed "traditional" society, "tribe" or ethnic group, which was the focus of functionalist methodology in the past, is no longer regarded as an appropriate unit of study. (66) However, for the early part of my study at least it is appropriate.

The time has long gone since Durkheim could write of religion as the soul of society having in mind on the one hand a relatively closed Australasian aboriginal society, and on the other a relatively monochrome European culture. Certainly since World War II led to a rejection of uncritical nationalism, individuals consciously belong to a number of different levels of aggregation from family through nation to European or Free World. Equally in Africa it is no longer possible to assume that the traditional levels of aggregation from family through clan and chiefdom to related language group are the only ones that remain significant. Other levels of aggregation have entered upon the scene, such as rural, urban, educated, migrant, black, Third World. But for most of the historical period with which I am mainly concerned the traditional aggregations were the ones that counted. In fact this very study is that of the beginnings of new aggregations.

The term "Nguni" is the widest traditional aggregation and is used to denote "the peoples in the south-east coastlands of Southern Africa who speak similar languages and who share some aspects at least of common culture". (67) The Cape Nguni are again differentiated from their Zulu (and Swazi) neighbours to the north-west. In its broadest terms the Xhosa-speaking people of the Cape Nguni area include four major political groupings - the Xhosa, the Thembu, the Mpondo and the Mpondomise. I shall be dealing with the Xhosa proper, but, as Peires shows, the Xhosa nation is heterogenous in origin. The Xhosa do not trace a common descent from a single eponymous ancestor. Rather, their kingdom came into being as the result of the incorporation over time of small autonomous clans as the subjects of the royal Tshawe clan. Thus "the limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political : all persons or groups who accepted the rule of the Tshawe thereby became Xhosa". (68) My study will focus on the Rharhabe chiefdom of the western Xhosa in the first instance because that is the political unit to which Ntsikana belonged. (69)

This history of two hundred years of religious change among the Xhosa will of necessity demonstrate the pluralistic and multilayered nature of their culture. At the same time I follow Mafeje in identifying a common Xhosa culture. He argues that overall the Xhosa speak the same language and are heirs to a cultural tradition of certain norms and practices, as well as oral literature and music, which have been handed down from the ancestors over the ages. (70)

The use of particular ethnic and cultural categories within the Xhosa grouping is defended by Beinart. He claims that such forms of consciousness remain deeply rooted within African society no matter what those who would adopt a materialist view of South African history might say. (71) Historically the principal ethnic cleavage in Xhosa society is between Xhosa and Mfengu (Fingo), and within these categories, between school people (amaggoboka) (72) and red people (amagaba). (73) I will be showing how at different periods the Ntsikana tradition influenced the way in which these ethnic and cultural alignments acquired their significance.

It is appreciated that many terms used during the nineteenth century cause offence if used today. The word "Kaffir" (Kafir) or "Caffre" was Arabic for unbeliever or infidel and was commonly used by both black and white writers of the time when referring to the Xhosa. (74) Their country was known as "Kafirland" or Kaffraria (Caffraria). These terms have had to be retained where necessary in quotations and of course they also feature in the titles of numerous books.

The use of the term "traditional" in relation to the Xhosa is simply to indicate the state of these people and their beliefs before they were influenced by the western way of life. (75) The term is still used today to connect people to their pre-colonial past, (76) and it incorporates those aspects of the common Xhosa cultural heritage which may well have undergone change but which are seen as being indigenous.

With regard to orthography, I have followed standard modern usage in generally omitting prefixes and suffixes of Bantu language words, as for example, Ngqika, Ndlambe, Mfengu. Further, the old orthography is retained where it relates to the Xhosa written tradition of Ntsikana. The new orthography is only used for certain terms such as Amaggirha (instead of amaggira - traditional doctors), and for names of people and places where this does not conflict with the written tradition.

With regard to pronounciation of "clicks", for the

Xhosa "c" represents the dental or front click, "x" the lateral click, "q" the top click. For the Khoi and San, as given by Schapera (1965, p. 42), "/" represents the dental click, "!" the palato-alveolare (or cerebral) click and "//" the lateral click.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - INTRODUCTION

1. J. Hodgson, "A History of Zonnebloem College 1858-1870. A Study of Church and Society" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975). For a summary see J. Hodgson, "Zonnebloem College and Cape Town : 1858-1870" in Studies in the History of Cape Town vol.1, edited by C. Saunders (History Department, University of Cape Town, 1979) pp. 107-122.
2. For further information see J. Hodgson, "Mission and Empire : A Case Study of Convergent Ideologies in 19th Century Southern Africa", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 38 : pp. 34-48, March 1982.
3. This is epitomized in the story of Emma, daughter of the Xhosa chief Sandile who was paramount of the Rharhabe chiefdom. See J. Hodgson, Princess Emma. A Xhosa Chief's Daughter (forthcoming publication).
4. Variations of his name in the literature include Sicana, Sikana, Tsikana, Untsikana.
5. J.S. Cumpsty, "A Model of Religious Change in Socio-Cultural Disturbance", Religion in Southern Africa 1 (2) : pp. 59-70, July 1980.
6. J.B. Peires, The House of Phalo. A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg, 1981) pp. 72 - 4.
7. D. Dargie, The Music of Ntsikana. An Introduction to Xhosa Music (2nd draft, Lumko, 1983 - in preparation for a Ph.D. thesis).
8. J. Opland, "A Comparative Study of the Anglo-Saxon and Xhosa Traditions of Oral Poets with special reference to the Singer Theory" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.C.T., 1973). See also ""Scop" and "Imbongi" - Anglo-Saxon and Bantu Oral Poets", English Studies in Africa 14 : pp. 161-178, 1971; "Caedmon and Ntsikana : Anglo-Saxon and Xhosa Traditional Poets", Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 2(3) : pp. 56-65, 1977; Xhosa Oral Poetry. Aspects of a black South African Tradition (Cambridge, 1983)
9. T.J. Couzens, ""The New African": Herbert Dhlomo and Black South African Literature in English 1857-1956" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980) ch.2 : "Ntsikana : "The First New African"".
10. A short biography by B. Holt in Part II of Joseph Williams and the Pioneer Mission to the South-Eastern Bantu (Lovedale, 1954) is largely based on J.K. Bokwe and is uncritical with a missionary bias.
11. For a general description of the Xhosa oral tradition see A.C. Jordan, Towards an African Literature. The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973) chs. 1-3; G. Nkonki, "The Traditional Prose Literature of the Ngqika" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, 1968). For a comparison with the Yoruba as an example of another African oral tradition with a particularly interesting religious component, see E.B. Idowu, African Traditional Religion. A Definition (London, 1973) pp. 83-6, and Olódumare : God in Yoruba Belief (London, 1962) pp. 7-10. For a comparison with the oral tradition of the Old Testament see B.W. Anderson, The Living World of the Old Testament (2nd ed., London, 1967) pp. 162-65.
12. J.B. Peires, "A History of the Xhosa c. 1700-1835" (M.A.

thesis, Rhodes University, 1976 - published partly in The House of Phalo) pp. 10-15; and (1981) Appendix IA, pp. 170-5.

13. Peires (1981) Appendix ID, pp. 184-5.
14. For a description of my fieldwork methods see Appendix I.
15. Peires (1981) p. 171. For a general discussion on the significance of the method of transmission see J. Vansina, Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology (trans. H.M. Wright, London, 1961) pp. 31-45. With reference to the transmission of the gospel tradition as an example of a religious oral tradition N. Perrin notes that its most characteristic feature is "the remarkable freedom which the transmitters of that tradition exercise in regard to it" : Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (London, 1967) p. 31.
16. According to Nkonki, the story tellers were generally the grandmothers and their stories (iintsomi) had to be told at night by firelight with the door closed. It was believed that horns would grow on the heads of those who broke this taboo unless special ritual precautions were taken : (1968) pp. 44-6. See also H. Scheub, The Xhosa Ntsomi (Oxford, 1975).
17. Nkonki (1968) pp. 47-8. He also notes that the heirs to the chieftainship were instructed in the amabali as part of their preparation for leadership : p.2. This information was corroborated in an interview with Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima, Qamata, 22 October 1981.
18. N. Falati, "The Story of Ntsikana. A Gaika Xosa" (trans. by C. Falati and C. Mpaki, St. Mark's, 1895 - unpublished, MS 9063, Cory Library, Rhodes University) p. 13.
19. Zaze Soga records that he learnt the tradition "from the mouth of his father", who was one of Ntsikana's leading disciples : in J.K. Bokwe, Ntsikana. The Story of an African Convert (2nd ed., Lovedale, 1914) p. 52. Bokwe learnt it from the "mouths of old men and women, who either knew Ntsikana personally, or were intimately acquainted with his family", including his own grandparents : (1914) Preface.
20. It is included in the formal procedure of the Ntsikana Memorial Church at Pirie and Port Elizabeth, and at the gatherings of the St. Ntsikana Memorial Association.
21. Peires (1981) p. 172. For a general discussion of distortion in the transmission process see Vansina (1961) ch. 4.
22. For a general discussion of the problem see D.P. Henige, "The Problem of Feedback in Oral Tradition : Four Examples from the Fante Coastlands", Journal of African History XIV (2) : pp. 223-35, 1973. He quotes S.G. Champion in saying, "A retentive memory is weaker than the palest ink".
23. S.E.K. Mqhayi, "Untsikana" in The Stewart Xhosa Readers, Standard VI (Lovedale, 1972).
24. W.G. Bennie (ed.), Imibengo (Lovedale, 1935, reprinted in the new orthography 1966).
25. W.B. Rubusana (ed.), Zemk'inkomo Magwalandini (London, 1906, abridged ed. Lovedale, 1966).
26. E.g. M.S. Huna, Untsikana (Umtata, 1973, 2nd ed. revised, I.S.E.R. Xhosa Texts No.5, Grahamstown, 1979); L.L.W. Sebe, Ucamngco (Goodwood, n.d. [1980]).
27. Peires (1976) p.22. See also M. Gilsenan, "Myth and the History of African Religion" in The Historical Study of African Religion edited by T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972) pp. 50-70; B.C. Ray, African Religions : Symbol, Ritual and Community (New Jersey, 1976) ch. 1 : "Myth and

History".

28. Peires (1976) p. 23.
29. Peires, (1981) p. 72, calls Ntsikana's conversion experience at the gate of his cattle enclosure "an hallucination" and from then on denies it relevance.
30. Peires refers to the "mystical and quite unChristian relationship" which Ntsikana had with his ox : Ibid.
31. Peires notes that Ntsikana and Nxele have both been called "prophets". He submits that "although they do represent something new, they should be seen as a natural development of Xhosa religion rather than as a complete novelty". He argues that while the Xhosa accept that prophecy is possible, he found no example of "a genuine prophecy, as opposed to interpretation of omens". The prophecy often attributed to Ntsikana about the coming of the whites he dismisses as "clearly apocryphal". The predictions of Nxele and Ntsikana about the calamitous fate of the amaNgqika, "whether or not apocryphal", are regarded, at best, as being "only threats and warnings dressed up as prophecies" : (1976) p. 143 and note 48.
32. For a critical discussion of Xhosa historical writing see Peires (1981) pp. 175-9.
33. L. and D. Switzer, The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho (Boston, 1979) p. 246. This material was reprinted in A Kaffir Reading Book (Wesleyan Mission Press, 1850) and again by Bennie in Imibengo (1935, new orthography 1966).
34. J.K. Bokwe, "Ntsikana and His Hymn", Christian Express, October 1878 - May 1879.
35. J.K. Bokwe, Ntsikana. The Story of an African Hymn (Lovedale, n.d. [1904]). Also published in the I.B.R.A. Messenger c.1891.
36. J.K. Bokwe, Ntsikana. The Story of an African Convert with an Appendix, Ibali Lika Ntsikana (Lovedale, 1914).
37. N. Falati, "The Story of Ntsikana. A Gaika Xosa" (MS 9063, Cory Library).
38. B. Ntsikana, The Life of Ntsikana : His Prophecies and his famous hymn (Lovedale, 1902).
39. W.K. Kaye, "Gomtu Ongu Tsikana - of the man Untsikana", MS 172c, n.d., Grey Collection, South African Library.
40. I. Wauchope, The Natives and their Missionaries (Lovedale, 1908) reprinted from the Christian Express.
41. Peires (1976) p. 128 n. 15, and Jordan, (1973) pp. 49-50.
42. Peires (1981) p. 219 n. 39.
43. For a discussion on the limitations of oral traditions as history see P. Stevens, jr., "The Kisra Legend and the Distortion of Historical Tradition", Journal of African History XVI (2) : pp. 105-200, 1975. See also P.D. Curtin, "Oral Traditions and African History", Journal of the Folklore Institute VI (2/3) : pp. 137-155, 1969; R.M. Dorson, "The Debate over the Trustworthiness of Oral Traditional History" in Folklore : Selected Essays edited by R.M. Dorson (Indiana, 1972).
44. With regard to the gospel tradition, Perrin notes that it was by virtue of the fact that the evangelists were able to use certain parables and stories about Jesus that caused them to be preserved, and not an interest in historical reminiscences as such : (1967) pp. 29-30.
45. Idowu (1973) p. 84.
46. Peires (1981) pp. 179-80.
47. The transmission and transcription of the "Great hymn" is discussed in chapter 5.

48. J. Brownlee, "A few brief details referring to two prominent characters (Makanda and Ntsikana) mentioned in the School Book, compiled by the Rev. J. Bennie", MS 158c, Grey Collection, South African Library.
49. "Imbaliso Ka-Ntsikana" reprinted in Bokwe (1914) pp. 45-50.
50. J.L. Döhne, Das Kaffernland und seine Bewohner (Berlin, 1844).
51. A. Kropf, Ntsikana, der Erstling aus den Kaffern und ein Prophet unter seinem Volk (Berlin, 1891) first published in Berliner Missions - Freund, June - August and October - December 1888. Peires (1976) p. 27 n. 33, notes that the traditions told Kropf by Bokwe in Das Volk der Xosa - Kaffern im östlichen Südafrika (Berlin, 1889) are excellent in comparison with his "undistinguished synthesis" of the Ikwezi articles in Ntsikana. See also A. Kropf, Die Lügenpropheten des Kafferlandes (2nd ed., Berlin, 1891).
52. See for example M.E. West, Social Anthropology in a Divided Society (Inaugural Lecture, New Series No. 57, U.C.T., 1979); J. Sharp, "Can We Study Ethnicity? A Critique of Fields of Study in South African Anthropology",Social Dynamics 6(1) : pp. 1-16, 1980; J. Sharp and M. West, "Dualism, Culture and Migrant Mineworkers : A Rejoinder from Anthropology", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 39 : pp. 64-9, June 1982.
53. C. Murray in W.F. Lye and C. Murray, Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and Southern Sotho (Cape Town and London, 1980) p. 19.
54. E. Colson was one of the first to alert anthropologists to the dangers of reifying culture : "Culture and Progress", American Anthropologist 78 (2) : p.265, 1976. See also Murray (1980) pp. 15-20; Sharp and West (1982) pp. 64-9. M. McKale identifies three modern understandings of culture as seen from a Marxist perspective - high culture and art as a commodity (which leads to the use of culture and class as synonymous terms), the anthropological concept of mass culture, and the Marxist understanding of a popular culture : "Culture and Human Liberation", Radical Religion V (2) : pp. 5-15, 1980.
55. See for example Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Towards a National Culture", Homecoming (London, 1978).
56. P. Worsley argues that "culture is ... inherently pluralistic and multi-layered. The levels moreover overlap and interpenetrate .... The very claim that there is a culture common to all is an ideological claim .... Rather there are many different cultures in a single society [politically defined] and ... wider cultural attachments that transcend (political) boundaries" : quoted in Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa. African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870 - 1930 (London, 1982) p. 9. A. Mafeje goes further in accusing the expatriate theorists and African middle class elite of "peddling" the "ideology of tribalism" for their own ends; and where "tribalism" is invoked under modern conditions, to maintain a power position, it is called false consciousness : "The Ideology of "Tribalism"", Journal of Modern African Studies 9 (2): pp. 253-61, 1971. See also A. Mafeje, "The Problem of Anthropology in Historical Perspective : An Inquiry into the Growth of the Social Sciences" Canadian Journal of African Studies 10 (2) : pp. 307-33, 1976.
57. E.g. B. Magubane, "The "Xhosa" in Town Revisited", American Anthropologist 75 : pp. 1701-5. See also S. Dubow, ""Understanding the Native Mind" : Anthropology, Cultural Adaptation, and the Elaboration of a Segregationist Discourse in

South Africa, c. 1920-36" (Africa Seminar, Centre for African Studies, U.C.T., August 1984).

58. Sharp (1980) p.6 ; Sharp and West (1982) pp. 66-7.
59. Sharp and West (1982) p. 68.
60. J.L. Comaroff, "Dialectical Systems, History and Anthropology : Units of Study and Questions of Theory", Journal of Southern African Studies 8(2) : p.145, 1981.
61. C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System" in Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion edited by M. Banton (London, 1966) p.3.
62. Ibid., p.5. Geertz defines religion as "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic", p.4.
63. E.g. Murray warns of the political implications in viewing culture "as a distinctive "world view", an integrated symbolic system of meaning whose "code" it is the anthropologists' special task to decipher" : (1980) p. 18.
64. Geertz (1966) pp. 3-4 for these three quotations.
65. J.S. Cumpsty, "Astride Two Worlds : A Surrejoinder", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 40 : p. 59, September 1982.
66. Sharp (1980); W.M.J. van Binsbergen, "The Unit of Study and the Interpretation of Ethnicity", Journal of Southern African Studies 8(1) : pp. 51-81, October 1981.
67. S. Marks and A. Atmore, "The Problem of the Nguni : An Examination of the Ethnic and Linguistic Situation in South Africa before the Mfecane" in Language and History in Africa edited by D. Dalby (New York, 1970) p. 120.
68. Peires (1981) p. 19, N.J. van Warmelo's ethnographical classification is outdated but of historical interest : "The Classification of Cultural Groups" in The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa edited by W.D. Hammond-Tooke (2nd ed., London, 1974) pp. 60-2.
69. A distinction is generally drawn between the "clan" as a kinship unit and the "chiefdom" as a political unit. But as Peires indicates, the Xhosa make no such distinction and the term isizwe (nation) is used for both : (1981) pp. 196-7 n. 6.
70. Mafeje sees the cultural identity of Xhosa-ness as being something entirely different from "tribalism". He argues that Xhosa-speakers "can be said to have shared a common culture over a very wide area, but were divided up into a number of antonomous political units" : (1971) p. 260.
71. W. Beinart, "Conflict in Qumbu : Rural Consciousness, Ethnicity and Violence in the Colonial Transkei, 1880- 1913", Journal of Southern African Studies 8 (1) : p. 95, October 1981.
72. ukoggoboka, to convert to Christianity, lit. to be perforated; to be pierced through and through so that a hole is made : A. Kropf, A Kaffir-English Dictionary (Lovedale, 1889; 2nd ed. edited by R. Godfrey, Lovedale, 1915) p. 129. Kropf notes that iggoboka is "a nickname given to a convert by heathens, who have the idea that the word or preaching his pierced a hole through the heart, ascribing the change to natural causes". It is also used in a derogatory sense by the red Xhosa today, who see the converts as "traitors who "opened a hole" in the Xhosa nations and let in the white-skinned enemy" : P. Mayer, "The Origin and Decline of Two Rural Resistance Ideologies" in Black Villagers in an Industrial

Society. Anthropological Perspectives on labour migration (Cape Town, 1980) p. 8.

73. amagaba (pl.), "heathen", lit. those who paint, colour, smear the body, or the face only with imbola (clay of red or ochre colour) which for the purpose is ground and mixed with fat : Kropf (1915) p. 344.
74. Peires notes that the Xhosa themselves objected to the use of "Kaffir" even before 1850 : (1981) p. ix.
75. H.W. Turner opts for the term "primal" : Religious Innovation in Africa. Collected Essays on New Religious Movements (Boston, 1979). But the association of this term with "primitive" makes it unacceptable to many African people : Idowu (1973) pp. 109-11.
76. Cf. Idowu (1973) pp. 104-5.

THEORETICAL PREFACE

In this thesis I will be looking at a historical process of religious and social change but I still need a frame of reference. There is the need of fixed points to measure change, not that there is a rigid fixing, but rather the creation of a matrix in which a religious tradition can be located at any particular point in time in its process of change. Such a study may not meet the priorities of an historian or an anthropologist, but it does seek to break new ground in the historical study of religion in South Africa and the priorities in this field are somewhat different.

I am not simply seeking to discover and record the facts of the past. Nor do I believe that I will ever be in a position to say that this socio-cultural experience produced that modification in religious belief, or that this religious belief produced that effect on society; but it is possible to discern patterns in relationships and where these recur, as for example the seeming attractiveness of the symbol of transcendence in a context where there is an inability to affirm the texture of the contemporary socio-cultural order, one begins to look for these patterns. I am well aware of the dangers of going into an historical situation with a model controlling my expectations; but a model is also a useful analytical tool and in using it one begins to be able to move tentatively towards explanation, and therefore prediction, for religious studies is not only an historical or anthropological discipline. (1)

1. STUDIES IN XHOSA RELIGION : A SURVEY OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

1.1 Xhosa Ethnography

In their historical studies of religious and socio-economic change in Zambia, Van Binsbergen (2) and Prins (3) give a masterly survey of the work that has been done in anthropology and historiography in Central Africa up to the late 1970s. The historians have lagged somewhat behind the anthropologists in this field, (4) but even so the scope and intensity of this research, and the developments in theoretical analysis contrast sharply with the state of similar studies in South Africa.

The ethnographic tradition in South Africa is rich in "single-tribe" monographs of the structural-functionalist school in which religion is looked at together with

politics, economics and social structure as part of a congruent cultural whole. (5) In addition to the ideological critique of Marxist analysis which identifies functionalism with imperialism, (6) these studies have been criticized for being ahistorical and limited to traditional social institutions. Hunter's (later Wilson's) work on the Mpondo was an exception in making some assessment of social change. (7) Subsequent studies on the Xhosa-speaking people focussed on social change in both the rural (8) and the urban (9) setting but remained functionalist in approach. The historians Beinart (10) and Bundy (11) broke new ground when they related their analyses of Xhosa-speaking peasantry to historical processes. This model is followed by Mayer in his recent social history of black villagers in an industrial society and the cultural aspect of labour migration is linked with economic developments. (12)

Studies which focus specifically on African religion in South Africa cover a broad spectrum of interests but are limited in number and large gaps remain to be explored. Moreover, historiography has received scant attention, while the development of new explanatory theory has been all but ignored. For example, the studies of Berglund (13) and Hammond-Tooke, (14) on the traditional cosmological systems of the Zulu and North Sotho respectively, offer valuable new insights into the patterns of thought, symbolism and ritual. But the abstraction of these religious phenomena from the context of social change, and the absence of any historical dimension, do not allow symbol to be related to historical experience. On the other hand, although Pauw (15) and Setiloane (16) have set their studies of the Tswana and Sotho religions within their historical and social contexts, and have traced some aspects of missionary influence together with the indigenous response, the historical insights into the changing patterns of religious belief and practice are limited by the absence of an incisive theoretical model.

Sundkler's seminal work on African Independent Churches in 1948 (17) has only comparatively recently set a vogue in the study of black religious independency. (18) It is in this area that the greatest strides have been made in exploring different theoretical perspectives. (19) However, apart from Dubb's case study of the African Assembly of God in an East London location, (20) and the short work by Mqotsi and Mkele on a separatist church in Port Elizabeth, (21) this field remains neglected in Xhosa ethnography. (22) In contrast a mass of material on Xhosa traditional religion has accumulated over the years

becoming progressively more scientific.

The radical religious and social changes wrought by the coming of the whites to Xhosaland from the late eighteenth century on resulted in a highly mixed cultural situation and many of the past traditions have since been lost to posterity. As new ways of life imposed themselves upon the old, the wisdom of the aged no longer came to be revered and the ancient beliefs were either reinterpreted to conform to new beliefs and customs, or else were forgotten after the death of the custodians of the cultural and religious traditions. The earliest written records of missionaries and travellers suffer from the inevitable Eurocentric bias which regards Christianity as the religious norm and views African religious beliefs and practices as "heathen and barbaric". Nonetheless, this material, some of which was collected from Xhosa antiquaries, provides valuable historical information and there is sufficient corroborating evidence to give the substance credence. Comparative documentation drawn from other indigenous societies in Southern Africa and beyond gives added support.

Vanderkemp was the first to provide an account of Xhosa religion and customs, in 1804. (23) Subsequent European writers on Xhosa social life in the early nineteenth century invariably included a section on "religion, magic and superstition". (24) Accounts by the Xhosa themselves follow considerably later and show the influence of their mission education. Even so they provide important ethnographic information that was not generally available to European observers. (25)

Scholarly studies in recent times include a wealth of ethnographic material on various aspects of traditional Xhosa belief, ritual and custom. (26) There are also a number of larger works of the functionalist school dealing with either Xhosa cosmology in general, (27) or the traditional religion of particular ethnic groups. (28) These are nearly all ahistorical and take little cognisance of religious and social change. Specialized studies, which relate Xhosa religion to the fields of philology, (29) psychology, (30) Xhosa poetry (31) and music, (32) have provided a broader analytical base. But it is only of late that ethnographic studies have begun to focus on the response of traditional religion and its religious authorities to changing social institutions and relationships among the Xhosa, both urban (33) and rural. (34) Hammond-Tooke has looked at the neglected field of the symbolic structure of Xhosa cosmology, drawing on the insights of Levi-Strauss and Mary Douglas. (35) He in turn

has been challenged by Kuckertz who has developed new explanatory theories in his case study of Mthwa society in Mpondoland. (36)

Pauw has led the field in his work on Christianity and Xhosa tradition. His analysis of the beliefs and rituals of Xhosa Christians is based on Redfield's model which incorporates a little tradition characterized by particularistic concepts, and a great tradition with more universalistic concepts, to explain the "intermediate nature" of Xhosa society. (37) However, I will be arguing that it is not a question of two traditions being held at once, but rather of a mixed culture; and we must look instead at the symbol systems involved and the world views they represent. (38)

Dwane has made a significant contribution in trying to relate Xhosa religion to Christianity and in suggesting ways of incarnating the gospel in the Xhosa context; (39) but his thesis has yet to be taken seriously by the church. The plea of D.D.T Jabavu in the 1940s for the establishment of an African indigenous church reflects his concern for African Christians to unite in one national church in South Africa in line with a strong body of black thinking of the time. (40) Dutch Reformed scholars have concentrated mainly on the missiological issues relating to Xhosa Christianity, (41) while the Catholic Church has made a concerted attempt to use the insights of African anthropologists to guide their pastoral work in a changing society. (42) But the need is for Xhosa people themselves to continue constructing an African theology at both pastoral and academic levels. (43)

From a materialist point of view, Mafeje has pioneered the way in trying to relate religion to class and ideology, using an urban Xhosa community in Cape Town and a rural community in the Transkei for purposes of comparison. (44)

1.2 Historiography of Xhosa Religion

The historical study of Xhosa religion has tended to focus on the role of the missionaries since the coming of Vanderkemp in 1799. While some attention has been given to the black response, this work is fragmented and large areas remain neglected. Moreover, no attempt has been made as yet to give an overall view of the historical development of Xhosa religion; and but for Mabona's short essay, (45) the pre-colonial religious developments have been totally ignored. My study of The God of the Xhosa is an attempt to bring together what little is known about the myths of the Xhosa-speaking people and the origins and development of

their traditional concepts of the supreme being. (46)

The lack of archaeological evidence and cultural-historical information makes the reconstruction of early Xhosa religious history a difficult task. The main problem is that most of the evidence has of necessity to be inferred from later oral and written sources, and their biases and assumptions leave them wide open to criticism. Even with resort to linguistic evidence, many of my findings must remain speculative and raise questions that cannot be settled on the available information. (47) Nonetheless, I believe that this type of documentation provides an historical dimension which is vital in deepening our understanding of religious and social change among the Xhosa, more especially the impact of Christianity in the nineteenth century and a wide variety of religious developments in this.

Du Plessis's classic work on the history of Christian missions in South Africa places the missionary work among the Xhosa in its widest perspective. (48) A more detailed study by Williams gives a useful analysis of the role of the early missionaries on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. (49) Other historical studies relating to the Xhosa have focussed on specific missionary bodies, (50) the missionary activities of certain historic churches, (51) missionary biographies, (52) the editing of missionary journals, (53) and the political role of missionaries. (54) But the main emphasis has been on the educational work of the missionaries. (55)

Radical historicans have viewed the missionary movement in the context of capitalist expansion. Thus all missionaries are seen as the agents of conquest and tools of imperialism. (56) Wilson in turn has made a case for their revolutionary activities as servants of God; (57) but the purely missiological activities of their ministry - their theological and social background, what they taught and how they were heard, or not heard - has in fact received little scholarly attention.

The religious response of the Xhosa to the colonial impact has been studied mainly in terms of the more dramatic aspects of resistance which took the form of thaumaturgical movements, particularly the Cattle Killing, and the methodology has been limited to theories of messianism and so-called millenarianism. (58) Little attention has been given to the place of these movements in the ongoing process of religious change. (59)

Historical studies of the Xhosa response to Christianity have concentrated on the African clergy as representing the new African elite, with special reference

to their role in the politics of African nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. (60) However, Odendaal (61) and Williams (62) have extended the historical links of Xhosa nationalism back to Ntsikana and so complemented the work I am doing. With the exception of recent studies on Tiyo Soga, (63) Elijah Makiwane (64) and S.E.K. Mqhayi, (65) biographical accounts of other leading figures of the time, like John Knox Bokwe, (66) John Tengo Jabavu, (67) Mpambani Mzimba, Captain Veldtman Bikitsha, Walter Benson Rubusana, Alan Kirkland Soga, Jemuel Pamla, Meshach Pelem, John Henderson Soga and D.D.T. Jabavu, are slight in content and uncritical in presentation. (68) Much work remains to be done in this field. So too the early history of Ethiopianism and the beginnings of the Independent Church movement among the Xhosa at the turn of the century needs further analysis. (69)

Edgar's work on the Israelite movement and the Bulhoek massacre in 1921 stands alone for the early post-Union period, (70) while the prayer movement of Mrs Elizabeth Paul in Transkei, iiNdaba zoSindiso (News of Salvation), in the 1950s and 1960s, and its continued existence after her death up to the present, awaits a full-scale study. (71)

From the methodological point of view, the history of Xhosa religion has remained largely in the hands of liberal historians. (72) Recent studies, which are concerned with socio-economic basis of societies and its relationship to ideology and politics, take little cognisance of religious factors. (73) The need is for new explanatory theory which follows the historical development of Xhosa religion within the changing socio-political and cultural context, taking into account the patterns which emerge.

Sundkler has made a start with his analysis of the "refugee factor" as a means of studying certain patterns of development in African church history. (74) Etherington, in his work on African Christian communities in Natal, Mpondoland and Zululand from 1835 to 1880, relates the rise of African church leaders, and their political activism, to a decline in secular opportunities. (75) These findings have yet to be tested in the Cape Nguni context. Etherington has also made a useful reassessment of Sundkler's work on African Independent Churches, evaluating the Ethiopian and Zionist classification in terms of historical sociology. (76)

Mills has attempted to fit different trends in the development of Xhosa Christianity into the categories of postmillennialism and premillennialism. (77) But his use of an analytical framework taken from the western Christian tradition is too narrowly conceptualized and fails to take

account of Xhosa initiatives in religious change. Elphick has taken a broader view by focussing on African responses to the Evangelical mainstream of nineteenth century missions in Southern Africa as a whole, but he draws heavily on Xhosa material. (78) He identifies three stages in the positive response of Africans to missions - permission, participation and affiliation - and links them to three stages of frontier history - the open, closing and closed frontier. This is a significant contribution towards developing analytical tools in the historiography of African Christianity. It is hoped that Elphick will extend his methodology to include the religious movements which were rooted mainly in the African tradition so as to develop a comprehensive theory of religious change.

2. MODELS OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE

In this section I will be giving a brief survey of the available models of religious change, considering their strengths and weaknesses for my purpose, and saying why in the end I opted for Cumpsty's model to look at the issues which have been raised.

2.1 Change in Scale

In their book, The Analysis of Social Change, first published in 1945, Godfrey and Monica Wilson argue that the most general change taking place in African Society is a change in scale, i.e. a change in the number of people interacting and the closeness of their interaction. (79) Their observations, drawn from their experience in Central Africa, are based on a dualistic perspective which contrasts "civilized" societies characterized by wide scale relations, with "primitive" societies which are small scale in relations.

The change in scale is said to apply in space and time, and to involve a growth in specialization and diversity which are conspicuously manifest in religion. The area of choice increases with scale and religion is seen as helping in the making of choices. Impersonal relationships become more important as the number of people interacting increases but at the same time there is a movement in society towards the personal (individual) and a growth of self-awareness in both individuals and groups. Monica Wilson regards this as a paradox. (80) If however the shift in the principle of corporate unity is understood as one from behaviour pattern to belief pattern, rather than within the context of status and contract, then the

paradox is reduced.

In Religion and Transformation of Society, Monica Wilson uses evidence of change in the religion of some small societies of Africa, as they expanded in scale during this century, to support her thesis. She concludes by focussing on religion in contemporary society, and suggests that the change in scale has resulted in a development of the idea of God : "a ready acceptance of it in those parts where the idea was shadowy, and for some people a shift to monotheism". (81) God becomes more approachable and the conception of life changes from survival to quality.

The change of scale model has the advantage of allowing for the focus of religion to become more cosmic as experience broadens. But Wilson fails to distinguish clearly between cosmic monism and transcendent monotheism. God is as big as your need. Therefore, as a people's horizon expands so does their god expand to fill the new world, and becomes a cosmic deity. But it is not the bigness of god that is important. What is more significant is whether there is a radical gap between the created and the creator, between what people have and what they look for in the future, and at what point the deity is understood to meet them in fullness, now or in some eschaton. Transcendence is a product of the felt nature of change, not simply an increase in size. It is the dislocating nature of the change that matters, not the increase in scale.

With reference to the broader critique of functionalism, the dualistic perspective is said to be untenable because of its disregard for historical processes. It is argued that in modern African societies, the critical question is not one of scale, but rather a question of qualitative aspects of social and economic organization. (82)

2.2. Robin Horton's Intellectualist Theory

Horton's Intellectualist Theory first took shape in 1970 when he used his material on Kalabari religion to suggest that African people, like scientists, construct theoretical models. (83) According to this approach, systems of traditional belief are taken "at their face value - i.e. as theoretical systems intended for the explanation, prediction, and control of space-time events". (84) His theory of religious change in Africa is based on the idea of a "typical traditional cosmology" which has a "two-tiered arrangement of unobservables". In the first tier are the "lesser spirits" who underpin events and

processes in the "microcosm" of the local community and its environment. In the second tier is a supreme being who underpins events and processes in the "macrocosm" of "the world as a whole".

Horton argues, like Wilson, that in the pre-modern situation the daily life of the individual is largely bounded by the microcosm, and the lesser spirits are the main focus of religious activity. The supreme being is of little concern and is seldom approached. However, wider communication, such as long-distance trade, will increasingly weaken the microcosmic boundaries and, as people become drawn into the macrocosm, there will be a shift in attention from the lesser spirits to the supreme being because he is seen as underpinning the wider life to which people are moving.

Horton then carries out what he calls a "thought-experiment" in which he attempts to predict the response of the "traditional cosmology" to an imaginary set of changes from which he has abstracted Islam and Christianity. These changes include large-scale growth of trade and state formation. In this hypothetical situation he predicts that a far more elaborate theory of the supreme being will be developed with a concomitant development of new ritual techniques, and that the supreme being will move from a position of moral neutrality to one of moral concern. (85) He concludes, therefore, "that the beliefs and practices of the so-called world religions are only accepted where they happen to coincide with responses of the traditional cosmology to other, non-missionary, factors of the modern situation". Islam and Christianity are thus reduced to the role of catalysts for changes which were "in the air" anyway. According to Horton, his theory is useful in accounting for both the failures and the successes of the two world religions. (86)

Horton's hypothesis, that the development of the idea of an active supreme being is directly related to the development of increasing economic and political contact, led to a widely publicized debate. (87) The response of those who tested his argument in the fields of Islam (88) and Christianity (89) in different parts of Africa ranged from enthusiastic support to critical challenge. In South Africa the model was applied, with some modifications, by Dubb (90) and Moyer (91) to the Xhosa and the Mfengu respectively with a positive reaction.

In my opinion Horton fails because there is no depth to his description either in the characteristics of the supreme being or in the nature of morality. Furthermore, his imaginary construction allows only for change and not

for the dramatic disturbance which the white man's coming entailed.

In Horton's description of the "basic" African cosmology, there does not seem to be any real difference between a world which is thoroughly polytheistic and controlled by different little spirits, and one in which the supreme being takes control of everything, provided that he is still part of the whole system, because this is a monism. All things are still controlled within this one cosmos. Nothing has basically changed. No matter whether you call it a microcosm or a macrocosm, it remains a self-contained whole within which everything is explained and controlled. The critical questions then are what are the characteristics of the divine, and how do they change?

As I have already said, god is as big as your need. I do not mean that he is a grand concept, or that he rules the whole world. He does not have to be a cosmic deity. What matters is that he becomes the one who fills your horizon. In change, therefore, you do not need to have another god. It could be one of the spirits who gains in importance. (92) But as a people's horizons expand, so their concept of divinity expands. It is a question of a particular need being met at a particular point in time.

In Weberian terms you need a correspondence between the experience and the nature of god. If your experience is one of harmony and security, he is a god of the static, and it makes no difference whether he is conceived as many little gods or the one background god. But if your experience becomes one of flux and change, and you no longer want to restore the harmony but are looking for a destiny and a purpose, then your god is no longer one who is maintaining the present, but a god who is leading you into some future condition. He therefore becomes detached from the present and there is a move to what we call transcendence. The real change, therefore, is when there is a deity who is about the future, i.e. a move from a static god to a dynamic one. What really changes are the characteristics of the divine, and not just his size.

When Horton says that the supreme being instead of the lesser spirits becomes the arbiter of morality, he is failing to see that the very nature of morality is changing. Morality in a static situation is about retaining harmony and balance, and involves a whole set of relationships. But in a dynamic situation morality is concerned with being successful in change, in creating the new future. It becomes a question of individual achievement which shatters traditional norms and values. Thrift replaces generosity as a virtue, and competition

replaces communal sharing and reciprocal obligations.

In his "thought- experiment", Horton supposes a situation in which African society changes toward the western style without external influences and asks what will happen to the concept of god. This is a legitimate exercise in itself, but it leaves out of account that which was most central in the actual event, namely the culture shock. As soon as the African experienced the western lifestyle and artefacts, such as books, ploughs and railways, his traditional world view was broken down and necessitated religious change. Even before there was technological expansion, the very presence of the missionary, whether it be in terms of tinned food, schools or new modes of agriculture, forced the African to change his way of looking at things from an enclosed to a bigger, wider world. (93) It requires the sudden incursion, not just of western religion but of all the other aspects of the white man's presence, including colonial domination, not only expanding but shattering the existing world view, to create that sense of a lost past and a future hope which renders the symbol of transcendence appropriate. (94)

2.3 A Marxist Theory of Religious Change

In his exploratory studies on religious change in Zambia, Van Binsbergen allows us to follow his grappling with the methodological problems of interpreting his data as he moves from the structural functionalist school of his training, to his present theoretical position which is concerned with developing a Marxist theory of religious change in Africa. He identifies modes of production and their articulation as the crucial condition governing religious innovation. In contrast to Horton, the emphasis is on discontinuities rather than continutiy. At the same time he openly indicates the limitations of Marxist theory in analysing symbolism, and stresses the need for a sophisticated theory of symbolism "in order to account systematically for the relations between the ritual superstructure and the economic infrastructure". (95)

Van Binsbergen's basic aim is to develop "an explicit and systematic social theory which takes historical dimensions into account". He argues for a Marxist model as it provides "a historical yet explicitly theoretical approach" which goes beyond the "single-tribe" approaches to see the underlying economic, social and political patterns. He finds an amazing similarity of religious forms and innovations that have manifested themselves in much of Central Africa over the last few centuries. (96)

Undoubtedly the Marxist theory provides a better understanding of the relation between the religious aspects and the material base of a society. But it seems to me that by formulating religious experience in terms of the superstructure, Van Binsbergen ignores two basic questions in the religious quest. These are given by Cumpsty as : "what is the nature of the ultimately real, and how do I belong to it?" (97) I suggest that the answers to these questions would show that the concept of god, to which Van Binsbergen devotes little attention, is a crucial factor in understanding continuities in the process of religious change.

Studies such as Daneel's on the Shona concept of the high god, (98) and my own on the Xhosa concept of the supreme being, have shown that a serious disturbance in the socio-cultural experience, whether it be caused by economic, social or political factors, is reflected in a shift in the understanding of ultimate reality. The critical change comes when the present experience is so disturbed that the background god of the monistic world view becomes the transcendent God of Christianity. With this goes a radical change in the concept of time from cyclical to linear, a move from a sense of cosmic oneness to a distinction between the sacred and the secular, and a shift from what is primarily a behaviour pattern as the principle of cohesion in society to what is primarily a belief pattern.

Van Binsbergen emphasizes the fact that the prominence of the high god and sorcery beliefs form "the two main constants in the emerging supra-ethnic religious system of modern Zambia". (99) But while he devotes considerable attention to the problem of evil, he ignores the significances in the changes in the concept of the ultimately real. He thus fails to balance the continuities against the discontinuities. Overall this means that his emphasis on the discontinuities which are related to modes of production does not allow us to take into account the dialectic between the ideational and the material which are integral to the process of religious change.

2.4 The Old and the New in African Christian Movements

African religious movements have been classified according to various typologies. (100) In addition Lanternari lists more than thirty different terms that have been used to lable movements of this sort throughout the world, according to the variables used. (101) These

include messianic, (102) millenarian, (103) nativistic, (104) separatist, (105) deprivation, (106) prophetic, (107) revivalistic, (108) and revitalization. (109) Any classification runs the risk of obscuring the historical dimension of these movements. They may pass through quite different stages of religious change over time, and stress quite different features in the process, as they respond to changes in socio-cultural experience. My main concern is with the overtly Christian movements, and with the way in which the old and the new have influenced form and content in the process of change. In this theoretical survey I will concentrate on identifying three schools of thought of particular importance to my purpose.

On the one hand there are those who emphasize the continuities with the African tradition in the new movements. Bond, Johnson and Walker, for example, see African Christian movements as being "part of the natural process of religious change in Africa". (110) They maintain that those scholars who have emphasized the "syncretic" character of these movements have evaded the main issue. The focus on causative factors in explaining the emergence of African Independent Churches in South Africa for instance has resulted in these movements being seen as "reactions to missionizing or to the European presence". (111) However, it is argued that "the cause of change cannot be isolated. Rather scholars must explore the factors that influence the speed and direction of change". (112)

Applying the insights of De Craemer, Vansina and Fox in Central Africa (113) to the South African context, it is evident that social, political and economic factors played an integral part in determining the circumstances out of which the African Independent Churches emerged and developed. But these factors provide no explanation for the form and content of the new movements. Religious factors are seen to be at the core. This school of thought further argues that the fundamental religious factors involved are drawn from the rituals, symbols and beliefs of the African people. (114) Analyses which characterize the new movements as attempts to "indigenize" Christianity (115) are therefore said to fall short because they focus on a foreign theological framework instead of on their African roots. (116)

It is my contention that both methods of analysis are relevant in that there are two methods of change. As I have said previously, few individuals will suddenly "unself". Change comes about, therefore, by giving new meanings to old forms and images or by taking the new forms

and content and inevitably filling them with the old, and the two sets will coexist for some length of time. (117)

The emphasis in the interpretation of African religious movements has from the beginning been on the adoption of Christian symbols and their "perversion" by filling them with African meaning. This was because most missionaries thought of Christianity as being radically different from the existing African religions. In stressing discontinuity, they saw themselves in true evangelical style as bringing about a completely new start. The new movements were thus regarded as partial failures or later perversions sliding back from the true faith. On the other side Bond, De Craemer et al. point to the process whereby traditional African symbols are taken and gradually filled with new meaning and expressed in new rituals. The new movements are thus viewed as "manifestations of indigenous religious initiative, continuous with local religious history". (118) Whilst there undoubtedly are "specifically African versions of Christianity", an exclusive approach ignores the overwhelming evidence that many Africans made a conversion that involved a rejection of old symbols and an overt attachment to a new set of symbols. The fact that this new set was then gradually filled with African meaning, whether the converts knew it or not, supports the argument for an "indigenization" of Christianity. (119)

In the third school of thought, the interplay between the old and the new during the course of time is well illustrated by Janzen's and MacGaffey's findings with regard to the history of Kongo religion. They conclude that "within this field there has been no simple process of challenge and response between clearly defined entities such as "Christianity" and "paganism", but a complex interaction and adaptation continuously modified by political, economic and cultural factors". (120) Kongo folk religion is thus seen as being made up of "unstable precipitates" which are constantly being reformulated and which meet the needs of different people at different times.

So too among the Shona, Daneel (121) and Murphree (122) provide a wealth of evidence to show how the interaction between Christianity and traditional religion over the years has led to a complex religious situation which exhibits a wide variety of religious behaviour and beliefs. Murphree observes that in Budjga society there are four religious orientations, made up of different permutations of African and Christian religious forms and ideas, which can best be understood "as a modality on a

religious spectrum which they must all share". (123) This diversity of religious expression provides several ideological frameworks "within which the Budjga can organize new associations and assimilate new values at a time when rapid social change demands this kind of innovation". (124)

The models of Murphree, and Janzen and MacGaffey, are useful in showing the constant rising and falling of combinations of old and new symbols in a spectrum of popular religion; but there is no attempt to elicit the processes of transmission of meaning within this flux. Religion : symbols for meaning, was necessarily conservative. An episodic presentation misses its very essence. Several other writers have also pointed to the dialectic between continuity on the one hand, and innovation and assimilation on the other; (125) but no conceptual framework is offered within which a religious tradition can be located at any specific point in time in the process of change. Nor is any attempt made to discern patterns of relationships which can be compared in other contexts so as to enable us to move towards explanation and prediction of religious change. It is in order to address issues of this sort that I will be testing Cumpsty's model.

2.5 Cumpsty's Model of Religious Change in Socio-Cultural Disturbance

As the various stages of this model will be described in detail during the course of the thesis, suffice it to say that it is a "needs-satisfaction model, asking at each stage how a need created by a socio-cultural disturbance is met by a modification of the religion". (126) In the attempt to be functionalist without being reductionist, the need which Cumpsty selects is that for a sense of belonging, and in a lengthy exposition, defines his terms as well as justifying his decision to build a model around this particular need. He observes that except in what he calls "religions of withdrawal" (into which Buddhism, Upanishadic and Vedantic Hinduism most nearly fit),

> man's sense of belonging to the ultimate reality will derive predominantly from either his socio-cultural experience or from his tradition or from some combination of the two. There must therefore be a fit in the long run between man's understanding of the nature of ultimate reality and his socio-cultural experience, or in the short run between his

> understanding of the nature of ultimate reality and his tradition or he will lose his sense of belonging . (127)

Cumpsty goes on to say :

> Our sense of the nature of reality, which has much to do with our sense of self, is always potentially more stable than either socio-cultural experience or our beliefs and practices. This raises the question of conversion, but rapid unselfing ... could only I think be the result of psycholoical trauma . (128)

The model is useful for descriptive purposes in that it is divided up into five stages which relate to changes in socio-cultural experience, namely the Static Stage, Protective Stage, Search Stage, Irrational or Paradoxical Stage, and Integrative Stage. With each stage there is a statement of change in beliefs and practices that might be expected from a consideration of the continued need for a sense of belonging. In no way is one stage seen as being superior to another. Neither is it implied that there is a specific progression from one stage to the next. I will be showing that stages can be missed out, or the direction of change reversed, or that different stages can co-exist in a society at one and the same time. The value of this is that it is possible to chart the different permutations of religious change.

This model distinguishes clearly between the stages in which any degree of monism is likely to give way to transcendence; and having, as the thread, the specifically religious need of belonging, it overcomes the discontinuities and episodic nature of other analyses. Such limitations as I find in this model will emerge in the thesis.

3. AN IDEAL TYPOLOGY OF RELIGION

The assumption thus far is that religion is about belonging both cognitively and affectively to that which the adherent feels to be the ultimately real. By ultimately real we mean only that found in or distilled from the adherent's total experience of his world out there to which he or she feels the greatest need to belong in order to give meaning, security or even warmth to his life. This belonging therefore will have two aspects. It will

need a way of modelling the ultimately real, and an appropriate mode of belonging to it. (129)

Cumpsty argues that the only non-religious response is the feeling that all out there is not coherent and is without meaning. He then argues that in terms of the individual's relationship to his world out there, there can only be three paradigms for the ultimately real. In stable and less complex societal conditions the normal response of the individual would be to understand his world out there as real, monistic and self-explanatory. When however the world out there cannot be affirmed in its entirety as that which the adherent wants to hang on to in order to maintain the belonging of which we have been speaking, there will be a tendency to bifurcate experience into that which can be wholly affirmed and that which cannot. This bifurcation can take two, and only two, forms. The bifurcation can fall between the reality and its appearance to the adherent in which reality remains monistic, but the adherent needs must discover a path to knowing it cognitively and affectively as it is in itself, or to bifurcate the reality itself into the present and the not-yet, this and that which transcends it, a real and an ultimately real : perhaps modelled in terms of a lost past but strongly a religion of promise and fulfilment. Because the ultimately real is transcendent its connection with the rest of experience can no longer be modelled mechanistically but must be modelled in terms of the only other experience available to human beings : that of volition. Man does not know how thought can move his limbs but it is common to his experience that it does so (God wills something and it happens.) As the relation of transcendent is modelled volitionally, the divine is conceived as personal. The rest of experience is real because he creates it but not as real as he.

This gives us three pure types of religion in terms of the way the individual relates to his world out there, which Cumpsty calls Nature Religion, Withdrawal Religion and Religion of Secular World Affirmation. (130) These are three pure types into which no extant religion may fit without remainder, but which provide a frame for locating and observing movements within existing religious traditions. It is perhaps important to make clear that while all religious traditions can be located within these three paradigms, not all religious experience can be so related, for religion is not simply belonging but the quest for belonging. Therefore there will be individuals who on the one hand have not developed a strong inner sense of the nature of reality, or because having developed it they have

not been able to find a suitable symbol set for its expression, or on the other hand have come out on the other side recognizing the paradigms for what they are, i.e. paradigms, and have moved to a sort of cosmic trust in a largely undefined reality.

The least important of the types for my purpose is Withdrawal Religion. For the sake of completeness and contrast I will include it but briefly, while Nature Religion will be dealt with in considerable detail.

3.1 Withdrawal Religion

This ideal type of religion regards the immediate environment "as either illusory or bad and the adherent therefore seeks as far as possible to withdraw from it in terms of both physical involvement and affective attachment, looking instead for the ultimate reality in his own soul or seeking to negate the self altogether".

Withdrawal Religion has its roots in Nature Religion for reality is monistic, but in the face of a deep pessimism concerning the world and with a pre-existing belief in reincarnation, a search for meaning resulted in a religious development which denies the material world's permanent reality, seeing it as illusion. "Belonging is assumed but not realized so the ideal man is one who withdraws from the immediate world of appearance in order to realize cognitively and/or affectively the unity of all things. Religious knowledge is typically the discovery (enlightenment) and description of a path to such realization".

Time is conceived as cyclical. The cycles, however, are not linked either with the natural order or with divine rhythms and are expressed in aeons rather than in months or years. Indeed time all but disappears into a universal now. Change becomes "a mark of that very same transient nature of the apparent reality from which the adherent is seeking release". There is consequently no sense of history.

This type of religion is highly individualistic and present texture of life oriented, but the only satisfying texture is the texture of detachment. It also characteristically manifests a behaviour pattern as the principle of cohesion with a tolerance of all manner of beliefs.

3.2 Nature Religion

Nature Religion is defined as the ideal type which

"regards the environment or significant parts of it as divine and therefore eternal, or if that philosophical concept is not present then at least the divine environment is regarded as a given without a beginning and without a destiny and beyond certain limits not to be changed by man". (131)

This type would include the great majority of the religions of preliterate peoples, the religions of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the traditional religions of Africa. An essential feature is that no radical gap exists between the gods and the realm of nature including man. Evidence is drawn from the cosmogonic myths of the African tradition to show that, with few exceptions, they lack the critical factor of creatio ex nihilo. (132) Without a radical gap between nature and the gods religion cannot be a separate category of thought or experience. All is one and is pervaded by divinity in one monistic experience. It is a state of being in which everything is religious and "no distinction can be made between sacred and secular, between natural and supernatural". (133) To relate to the immediate is to relate to all if the chain remains unbroken. The sense of this total belonging is an ever-present reality, hence the need to maintain the existing harmony.

Any disturbance to the harmony is experienced as misfortune which can take the form of drought, illness of man or beast, war, death, problems with family, work or money, and so on. The belief system is totally explanatory, denying the idea of chance and being preoccupied with the causes of misfortune in a closed system of cause and effect. In Southern Africa misfortune is generally regarded as being sent either by the ancestors, the living dead who are the immediate link with the reality beyond, as a punishment for breach of custom; or as the evil-doing of witchcraft and sorcery. Divination is used to interpret the causes of misfortune and to prescribe the means of restoring the harmony. Ritual is the means whereby man comes to terms with these threatening aspects of life and keeps chaos at bay. Nature Religion is essentially magical, magic being understood as man's attempt "to tap and control the supernatural resources of the universe for his own benefit". (134) It is a primitive science of relationships and although the world is given, if you know what to do with it you can manipulate it for good or for evil.

Placide Tempels attempts to interpret African religions by using a western philosophical approach. (135) Central to his thesis is the idea of "vital force". He

posits a hierarchy of forces which form a chain from God through the founding fathers and the dead to the living. They in turn are linked with the inferior force-beings : animal, vegetable and mineral. Man is at the centre and is a vital force influenced by and influencing the other forces. What we call magic is therefore "nothing but setting to work natural forces placed at the disposal of man by God to strengthen man's vital energy". (136) One way of understanding witchcraft is to see it as a manipulation of these powers in a manner which ignores the need for the maintenance of harmony. The concept of "vital force" is said to be akin to that of mana in the Melanesian and Polynesian world views. However, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the acceptability of Tempels's theory in interpreting African cosmology. (137)

Part of the debate is whether vital force is a personal enough category to do justice to African religion in general. As Cumpsty argues elsewhere, in a monistic experience whether the gods are thought of in impersonal or personal categories they can still be manipulated : if the god does not respond to a ritual then there is something wrong with the ritual. Only in Religion of Secular World Affirmation, where no ontological link is supposed between the god and his creation, can the god be thought to exercise that sovereign freedom of volition which is at the core of our understanding of person.

A more serious criticism of Tempels is that he is still moving in western categories. (138) He presents us with not so much a beginning and an end in temporal terms, but with a clearly delineated hierarchy of relations from the god through to man, and from man down to the inanimate end of nature. Whereas for the African, the world out there is as if it were illuminated by a spotlight : the world of immediacy, whether it be ancestors, living people, animate or inanimate nature, is sharply defined but at the edges it shades off into a realm of entities which are not so much not believed in but are simply not in issue. It is this shadow realm which can produce when necessary for example a high-god who has been there since time immemorial but to whom little attention has been paid. (139)

Other scholars have debated as to whether African religions are fundamentally monotheistic, polytheistic or pantheistic. Ray warns against reducing African religions to a westernized religious scheme and concludes that they can best be understood as involving elements of each of these schemes at different theological levels and in different contexts of experience. (140) This may be true,

but monism, in which all things are viewed as one unitary organic whole without any sort of break or independent parts, seems to satisfy as a more exact terminology.

In the ancient Semitic religions divinity was usually understood as being in the plural and the way in which the gods were visualized reflected man's experience in a particular situation. Cumpsty notes that to us many of the gods seem strangely ambivalent, being both benevolent and malevolent, and with it all capricious. This is because they were drawn from nature which is itself both creator and destroyer, and above all unpredictable. Nomadic man had to fight to survive and needed both aspects in his gods, the aim being to direct the warlike and destructive powers toward his enemies and the benevolent aspects toward himself. To bring this about man interacted with the divine through ritual.

African supreme beings exhibit the same sort of ambivalence and capriciousness. For the Dinka, Nhialic (Divinity) is the source of truth and justice as well as the source of irrationality and disorder. For the Yoruba, Olorun (Lord or Owner of the Sky) is both supremely moral and supremely amoral. (141) The Shilluk regard Juok (God) as the source of good and evil, who is hostile or friendly depending on the particular situation, (142) while the Zulu believe that iNkosi yezulu (the Lord-of-the-sky) sends rain to the earth and is therefore beneficient but that he withholds rain if he is angry. (143) There are many other such examples. (144)

Some western observers have regarded these conflicting combinations of attributes as paradoxical. (145) McVeigh suggests that the paradox is resolved in the African view by pushing the inscrutable god to the periphery of life and that this is accomplished by the African myths. (146) Here again there seems to be a western importation, namely a sense of guilt which wants to push the god away. But Africa does not have a sense of sin. Rather there is a sense of foolishness or shame. The overwhelming necessity in Africa, as in all Nature Religions, is to hold the world of experience together : in Freudian terms to embrace both the superego and the id. This appears schizophrenic to a typical westerner who, in seeking to integrate himself, will have identified with the id and experienced the superego as the voice of God, or have identified with the superego and experienced the id as the voice of the devil, or at least of a lower nature. To accept the reality of both and to project them onto god, although not a typical western solution, is typical of Nature Religions.

To turn back once more to the ancient Semitic peoples,

Cumpsty observes that when previously nomadic people became settled and agricultural, both their experience and their needs changed and the nature of their gods tended to become female, representing fertility. In addition, the benevolent and malevolent qualities tended to become associated with different gods. A comparison of the religions of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia shows how the nature of the gods changed according to their different experience : the experience of Egypt was one of relative order and safety, while the enduring experience of Mesopotamia was of conflict against man and nature and the struggle to survive; and these differences are reflected in their myths. (147)

In Nature Religion experience is the source of religious knowledge. Hence the respect for age and the importance of retaining the tradition which embodies the knowledge of custom. Wisdom is a typical form of knowledge. It is concerned with how I in my wisdom relate to those around me, my immediate family, living and dead, my kinsmen, community and chiefs, as well as to the spirits, ancestors, lesser divinities and the supreme being. It is a prescription for wise living which is essentially practical and therefore essentially a behaviour pattern. The Nature Religion of Egypt was the source of much of Israel's wisdom tradition and they returned to this in the post-exilic days when they lost faith in salvation in historic continuity with the present. (148)

As with the ancient Semitic religions, the traditional African religions are not doctrinal. They have what Cumpsty describes as a weak belief structure in the sense that there is little of it, there is little pressure for logical coherence, and a knowledge of it is not the significant criterion for belonging to the group. There is rather a seeking and a feeling after an underlying order of things through myth and the ritualizing of life as a whole so as to establish a strong behaviour pattern, without demanding exactitude or finality. All the necessary knowledge has been given in the beginning in myth and this has been handed down in the oral tradition. The Golden Age is always in the past, and conservatism is highly valued. Wisdom is a knowledge of the tradition and custom related to the past. African proverbs are a particularly rich source of wisdom literature. (149) The wisdom of the elders is far greater than that of other men and cannot be acquired simply by study or personal search for knowledge but arises in experience which cannot be hurried. (150)

For the African people history is not important in itself. Its value is in myth. There is thus a blending of

myth and history. In common with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian myths, African myths reflect the differences in social, cultural and historical experiences of different people and therefore vary accordingly. (151) But as Hooke argues, the important thing to ask of a myth is not whether it is historically true or not, but what it is meant to do. Myth is thus defined : "a product of human imagination arising out of a definite situation and intended to do something". (152) Although this is not all I shall want to say about myth, it will serve our purpose here to consider Hooke's typology because it relates essentially to Nature Religion. There are five categories of myth classified according to the notion of "function"; but it will be seen that while three types are toally appropriate to the mythopoeic world view of the African, two types belong to the more developed Semitic religions which are linear time myths and are inappropriate to Nature Religion. In addition, it is evident that the same myth may have more than one function. (153)

The first category concerns the ritual function of myth. (154) In Nature Religion the function of ritual is "to maintain the harmony, the functioning of the whole order of things". Myth is the spoken part of the ritual, i.e. what is said as opposed to what is done, and is believed to have power. When man goes through the ritual of the cosmogonic myth he is enacting part of the essential mechanism of a continuing order, this order being cyclical so that the beginning comes round again and again. A good example is the ritual enactment of the Dogon creation myth by which the Dogon seek to maintain the world in existence. (155)

The second category has to do with the origin function of myth, providing an explanation of the origin of significant things, customs, ritual, people and places. African myths concentrate on the origin of man and of significant aspects of his culture in a pre-existing cosmos. Examples of cosmogonic myths are found in all the different African cultures. (156) The Dogon creation myth is an exception in trying to answer the question of how the world itself came into being. (157)

Myth can have a cultic or historic function too, where there is the retelling of the really significant historical events in the life of the nation. According to Hooke, the stories of the past are told in order to give a sense of security in the present and the future, and to unite the group. Myth here has a moral, not magical, power. However, this is one of the categories inappropriate within Nature Religion. Although there are African myths which

contain an apparent recital of historical events, such as the stories about Ile-Ife, the ancestral home of the Yoruba in Nigeria, (158) their function is as myths of origin or prestige myths, as in the next category, where the concern is not so much a question of explaining an origin in time but rather of expressing the quality of a present experience.

In Nature Religion, where the world is a given, without beginning or end, time does not run in linear fashion but is cyclical. The mythological past is therefore constantly recoverable in ritual. It is not that the west does not recover its past, for the past in the Hebrew-Christian tradition is only truly significant when it is our past. For the Jew, he, not just his ancestors, were in bondage in Egypt and the Christian participates in the dying and the rising of Christ. The difference is that African time is eternal. It has no real beginning and because of that it has no real destiny.

Hooke's fourth category is the prestige myth which functions not to explain how something became important, like the myths of origin, but to invest something with importance. A typical example in the African tradition is the investing of the birth and exploits of a popular hero with an aura of mystery. The myth depicts him as a wonder-child who shows marvellous precocity at birth, who overcomes all manner of difficulties during his life through his special gifts such as second sight and conspicuous bravery, and who becomes a culture hero after death. (159)

Lastly there are the eschatological myths which relate to the end and can only function in a religion with a linear view of time. Generally these myths portray a catastrophic end and a divine intervention. This type is again not applicable to Nature Religion because of the problem of time.

Mbiti maintains that the concept of time is the key to understanding the African cosmology. He is widely quoted as saying,

> according to traditional concepts, time is a two-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present and virtually no future. The linear concept of time in western thought, with an indefinite past, present and infinite future is practically foreign in African thinking. (160)

According to Mbiti, Africans reckon time in relation

to events rather than on a mathematical scale. So for example in a cattle economy the day is reckoned according to significant events such as the early milking, the times of rest, taking the cattle to drink water and driving them home, and the evening milking. (161) Months are reckoned according to the most important events or phenomenological happenings : the time when certain plants bloom, crops ripen, stars appear or the first rains are expected. (162) In an agricultural community the seasons come and go according to seasonal activities such as ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting. (163) Years are reckoned according to significant events on a national scale such as wars, earthquakes, comets, drought, epidemic disease like rinderpest in cattle, and so forth. (164)

Mbiti argues that because time is understood by Africans as a succession of events, what has already taken place or will shortly occur is much more important than what is yet to happen ahead of time :

> People look more to the "past" for the orientation of their being than to anything that might yet come into human History. For them History does not move towards any goal yet in the future : rather it points to the roots of their existence, such as the origin of the world, the creation of man, the formation of their customs and traditions, and the coming into being of their whole structure of society. (165)

Mbiti substantiates his findings with the argument that the African languages he has studied have no concrete words or expressions to convey the idea of a distant future. The future extends to about six months from the present, and at the outside two years. This means that people cannot articulate what is in the distant future and so cannot form myths about it. All myths therefore deal with the past. (166) Moreover, there can be no concept of history moving forward towards a future climax. There is thus no notion of eschatology as understood in Christianity, (167) nor can there be prophets as understood in the strict biblical sense of prophecy. (168)

Ray criticizes Mbiti's view of the mythical past as an irretrievable "graveyard" of time because he maintains that it is constantly recoverable in ritual, and is therefore "a constant source of new beginnings, of ontological renewal". (169) While I agree with this reasoning, I cannot accept Ray's contention that the millennial overtones sometimes

found in the visions of divinely inspired leaders provide evidence of a genuinely prophetic dimension in Africa, (170) because prophecy and millennialism are being used wrongly in this context. We shall see that they are both essentially tied up with the Hebrew-Christian tradition, with a linear concept of time and an understanding of God who will be better known in the future than in the past, the future being indefinite, not immediate.

The notion that Africans have no sense of history has been perpetuated by European writers over the centuries and dies hard. This is manifestly untrue. Oral traditions show a lively interest in what has happened in the past and in preserving what has been handed down from generation to generation. But, as has already been indicated, history merges into myth. Furthermore, history tends to be telescoped in the oral tradition and defies attempts to date it according to a mathematical time-scale. The historical boundaries of an African community can vary from two to twelve generations, with the founding heroes being identified with the beginning of their social life and the royal genealogies matching the generation time. (171)

In a pre-literate society the living tradition tends to be conservative and oral history gives the impression of being unchanging. As Ray observes, "history provides not only a chronicle but also, like myth, a set of normative patterns or archetypes for interpreting the past and the present. Only thus could a solid base be given to the present in the face of the otherwise overwhelming contingency, the state of "becoming" of the world". (172)

The living tradition is not static, however, having built into it the possibilities of change. Although it serves to preserve images of the past, it also incoporates images of the present and this gives it flexibility. Change does occur as history is made to conform to changing political, social and economic circumstances; but this takes place slowly and is not necessarily conscious. It is also not a question of a radical break with the past but rather a gradual assimilation of the new into the traditional mould. The problem is that custom is regarded as being sacrosanct and the change which does take place is generally denied. Booth notes that for change to be accepted it must be seen to be for the good of the community and must be validated by the ancestors, the guardians of the tradition. Present leaders must therefore invoke the authority of the past generations to make their innovations acceptable to contemporary society. (173) As Mabona rightly says, it "is becoming increasingly appreciated, that African traditional religions were

dynamic systems, continually adapting themselves, where necessary, to new developments". (174)

Other Nature Religions show similar concepts concerning time, history and change. (175) For the ancient Semitic peoples the series of times follow a definite rhythm, a natural order determined by the rhythm of earth and of the heavenly bodies. Moreover, this cyclical order of nature is invested with divinity, a sacred understanding of the world which is essentially non-historical in that it is pervaded by mythical thinking and leaves no room for the saving acts of God in history. As Cumpsty indicates, change is experienced but this is accounted for as rhythms of the divine : the seasonal changes, the successive stages in the life-cycle of man from birth to death, the annual flooding of the Nile River bringing its life-giving silt, and the growing and the harvesting of the crops. When everything is seen as being fulfilled in the eternal cycle of existence man finds his meaning by absorption into the divine rhythms. In relation to nature therefore he is relatively passive. In no way does he try to initiate radical change in the world, "to take hold of the world around him and seek to shape it", for the world is divine or at the least permeated by the divine.

In this type of society man's position vis-á-vis the world is one of relationship, not exploitation. The moral idea is generally the harmonious integration of the world and the self in it. Man is a family tree extending laterally along lines of living relations, backwards through the ancestors to the founding fathers, and forwards down the lineage of the unborn, with no distinction being made between the living and the dead. (176) Life is ordered according to reciprocal obligations and responsibilities, and conformity is at a premium in maintaining harmony. Any sign of individuality or breach of traditional custom is regarded as a threat to the equilibrium, so endangering the well-being of the community as a whole.

Ritual observance is the foundation of religious practice in Africa : it is orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy that matters. (177) Wilson stresses the fact that "religion is not confined to ritual, but is manifest in ritual, and in the smallest societies chiefly manifest in ritual". (178) We have to do here with behaviour patterns rather than belief patterns as the principle of cohesion in communities; and a concern with texture rather than goals in finding a meaning in life, the emphasis being on the quality of life now rather than in the future.

In a general sense belonging is accomplished by

entering into the rhythms of nature. In Egypt the rule of the new pharaoh was inaugurated when the Nile came down in flood. In Swaziland the annual Ncwala ceremony to "strengthen" ritually the king is held in conjunction with the "new" phases of the celestial bodies, the rising of the sun on the day after the winter solstice and the appearance of the full moon, both symbolizing renewal. (179)

Here we leave Nature Religion. Its qualities will stand out more clearly as we contrast it with Religion of Secular World Affirmation.

3.3 Religion of Secular World Affirmation

In this type of religion the environment is regarded as being

> real and essentially good but secular because we are no longer in a monistic universe. The divine is transcendent, that is to say something wholly other than the immediate world of sense experience. The divine may be discerned in and through the environment but is not the environment.

This type is most nearly represented by the religions of the Abrahamic family - Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The "high-god" religion of some pre-literate people may also appear to fit in this category but such things as fetishes and totems give evidence of that all-pervasiveness of the divine characteristic of monism. Only where there is a radical gap between the creator and the created, and sacred and secular are separate, does the cosmic god of Nature Religion become the transcendent God of Secular World Affirmation Religion. The divine is no longer identified with present experience, pervading it and maintaining it, but will be about it and beyond it. There is thus both a spatial and a temporal dimension in the modelling of transcendence. God is understood as being wholly other and higher than we are. He is also to be known more fully in the future than in the present or the past, for He is the God who is out in front leading us on.

Transcendence brings with it a concept of the world as having a beginning and an end and therefore a linear dimension of time. For there to be a radical gap between God and man the beginning must be *creatio ex nihilo*. Transcendence is lost in the cosmogonic myths where creation is understood as an emanation out of, or a manifestation of, the divine substance. Because God is

transcendent, creation cannot be thought to limit his divine status of eternity. Creation is thus conceived as an act of divine will with a purpose or destiny. With the discovery of a future dimension of time history is seen as moving towards an ultimate fulfilment. Time is therefore no longer cyclical but linear running from creation to destiny. The individual is "no longer caught up into eternity mediated by the myth but placed specifically in time and made aware of his historical contingency". (180) Consequently, belonging to the ultimately real is no longer assumed and sought to be maintained but is man's essential quest.

Because the divine is transcendent, wholly other than His creation, He is essentially personal, for "His connexion with the creation must be conceived volitionally rather than mechanistically". As Cumpsty goes on to say,

> This ultimate reality, therefore, cannot be related to by maintaining prescribed relationships with the objects of immediate experience, nor by recognizing the ultimate reality in oneself but is related to in some form of volitional covenant. The relationship may be direct and individual or it may be corporate and indirect, effected by relating to some bridgehead which the divine has established in the world, e.g. an elect race or a church. The former will tend to emphasize faith as trust, obedience and right belief; the latter as right ritual behaviour . (181)

Because linear time has a beginning and an end it must secularize the world. Only if the world is conceived as truly secular can man think of himself as free to shape the environment. Only when man has a sense of history in a secular world will he be able to evaluate his life in terms of its goals rather than its immediate texture and, with a gulf between what he has and what he wants, he will be motivated to shape his environment. Only if there is some inkling of the nature of the destiny can man measure progress towards it and thereby be motivated to contribute to change. Only if that destiny is in some sense guaranteed by the divine can man in his weakness and partial blindness as to the end feel free to launch out into the unknown because he is certain of coming to his destination. "Change is no longer just a rhythm in the divine nor a mark of impermanence but a positive step for

or against a divine purpose". Goal orientation demands direction and direction demands belief, therefore this religion is a belief pattern rather than a more static behaviour pattern. Beliefs can of course vary and become dogmatic, i.e. they can be as divisive between groups as they are integrative within groups; but what is significant is that the belief pattern provides the coherence and is consciously held.

In this world view the character of God is seen to be more important than his power. We come to know God's character through revelation and while revelation does take place in creation it is chiefly through history. This has to be a monotheistic religion because if there is more than one divinity there would be confusion and, as with dualism, it would not be possible to interpret God's initiation and control of historic events. But although there is only one God, his character can be perceived in different ways and this affects the mode of relating to Him.

Islam, with its strong emphasis on Kismet or fate, tends to emphasize the divine sovereignty and therefore submission. It is a highly deterministic religion with God rather than man being the initiator of action. As the servant of God man is inhibited in his willingness to take hold of the world and shape it.

Judaism emphasizes divine righteousness and man therefore seeks to obey the Law of God, "to do the Mitzvot". The good Jew must inevitably lead a careful walk through life and is not at risk vis-à-vis the environment.

In Christianity there is an emphasis on divine love and this brings with it freedom and responsibility. Because salvation is a gift, and not something to be earned, man responds to God with love. In turn the love of God sets man free and with freedom comes responsibility, the responsibility of direct involvement in moulding the environment.

Cumpsty describes the ideal man in this type of religion as being "no longer one who passively fits himself into the rhythms of nature or withdraws from it, but one who actively takes hold of his real, secular and essentially good environment and seeks to shape it in conformity to what he understands to be the divine will. This is necessarily a corporate symbol, the kingdom as its goal".

A transcendent divinity must be personal. He is beyond the manipulation of man and cannot be conceived as impersonal. The form of religion therefore is covenant and co-operation with the divine in an historical destiny. Religious knowledge is the self-revelation of this ultimate

reality in the context of history, because there has to be co-operation with that character in bringing about His purpose and His will.

But Israel's God is unknown and it is in their history through His revelation and activity that they come to know Him. As Anderson says : "Divine revelation comes through events which externally are part of ordinary political and social affairs, and to persons who perceive in these events a dimension of sacred meaning". (182) The Old Testament is thus seen to be "Israel's witness to its encounter with God ... (It is) the narration of God's action : what he has done, is doing, and will do". (183)

This historical experience has its beginnings in the wanderings of the patriarchs, the descent into Egypt and going into bondage. The crucial event is Moses' encounter with God : God's promise that He will always be with him and that what happens is His will. Moses is "the prophetic interpreter of the event". With this comes the understanding of God who is to be known in the future by His saving acts. "According to the Mosaic faith," says Anderson, "God is not aloof from the human scene of travail and oppression. He takes part in human affairs to work out his purpose. He makes himself known by his deeds, which are historical events." (184)

The Exodus experience and leadership of Moses is a time of transition and the content of the Israelites' faith shows this transition. Cumpsty argues that this period sees the ripening of "the essential monism underlying Egypt's polytheism... if not the radical monotheism of Deutero Isaiah then at least into a henotheism which had (a) transcendent quality and paid little heed to the gods of other nations". Two features of the Sinai covenant tradition which supported this understanding of the transcendence of God were the prohibition of images and the mystery surrounding God's name. This God does not reveal himself in a name or image as in Hebrew thought and experience but in action in history. The answer to the question "who is God?" is in future events. From the aggregate of a whole series of saving acts there then develops a span of historical time. This achieves the breakthrough to the linear concept of history.

We are now in a position to comment further on Hooke's two linear time categories of myth : the cult and the eschatological. With the advent of linear time stories of the past, or indeed the future, may be intended to be literal, relating events to one another within time, or the same story may be intended to function as myth. In order to distinguish between the two it is necessary to look at the

two realms of discourse expressed as I - it and I - thou language.

Cumpsty notes that in any culture there are two quite separate but interdependent modes of discourse. There is on the one hand the language of science and logic. It speaks by relating one thing to another. But when one comes to the boundaries of relationship, either at the micro level where all things become energy, and can neither be conceptualized or spoken about literally, or at the macro level where the cosmos is unique and so has no other cosmos to relate to, this relating language dries up. It is only possible to communicate about the unique in terms of what it feels like to be confronted by it. At this stage the mode of discourse becomes feeling language. The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber described the two relationships in the mode of discourse as I-it and I-thou.

God cannot be explained in terms of relating language, by relating him to other things. He is met as a quality of our total experience and as such is unique. According to Cumpsty, "He can only be spoken of in terms of our feelings when discerning His hand at work in the totality of our experience. We tell stories to communicate about those feelings and we call them myths". (185)

Myth is therefore the sophisticated language of feeling by which man speaks about the unique where literal language, functioning as it does by relating one thing to another, is inappropriate. The distinction can then be drawn between history, which functions by relating one thing to another in a time sequence and various contemporary events in a particular time, and myth, in which the same story is used to express how people feel about that which cannot be related to anything else. For example, the Exodus may be understood as a piece of history but as such is relatively trivial on the world scale. Understood as myth concerning the character of the divine it has been formative in the religion of half the world.

For two hundred years the Israelites were a highly democratic, egalitarian order held together simply by a common religious belief, their faith in the God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt. The emphasis in this faith is in divine activity. But over the years there was a diminution in the power of this faith to keep them united and the establishment of the monarchy brings with it tension and division. In the monarchy the ruler and the religious spokesman become two different people and it is in this situation that the prophets emerge in order to interpret what God wants for his people. Parallels will be drawn between these biblical prophets and Ntsikana when we discuss his role as a prophet among the Xhosa.

NOTES - THEORETICAL PREFACE

1. J.S. Cumpsty argues for the need of some conceptual framework within which to locate various religious situations and processes of change which quite different projects with which he has been involved have revealed, so as to act as a foil, and perhaps in time, to provide an explanatory model : (1980) p. 59. See also E.A. Nida, "New Religions for Old. A Study of Culture Change in Religion" in Church and Culture Change in Africa edited by D. Bosch (Lux Mundi 3, Pretoria, 1971) pp. 14-15. Whilst recognizing the danger of using models, because they are "only extended metaphors", Nida argues that they are nonetheless structures which permit "greater insight into the nature of the complex relations which we must explore. The models ... provide a basis for constructing relevant hypotheses, which may serve as perspectives - or even as grids or lattices - through which we may view phenomena and by means of which we may be able to understand more clearly some of the processes which we observe".
2. W.M.J. van Binsbergen, Religious Change in Zambia. Exploratory Studies (London and Boston, 1981).
3. G. Prins, The Hidden Hippopotamus. Reappraisal in African history : the early colonial experience in western Zambia (Cambridge, 1980).
4. The publication of The Historical Study of African Religion, edited by T. O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo. (Berkeley and Los. Angeles, 1972), was the first major attempt of African historiography to focus on African religion as a separate topic from African politics, economics and social institutions. Even then only half of the fourteen contributors were originally trained as historians.
5. For a survey of the literature see West (1979). See also E.J. de Jager, A Select Bibliography of the Anthropology of the Cape Nguni Tribes (Johannesburg, 1966); B.L. Ellis, Religion among the Bantu in South Africa. A List of Works published since 1956 (Johannesburg, 1968) ; W.D. Hammond-Tooke, "The Present State of Cape Nguni Ethnographic Studies" in Ethnographical and Linguistic Studies in honour of N.J. van Warmelo (Pretoria, 1969).
6. Mafeje (1971) and (1976).
7. M. Hunter, Reaction to Conquest. Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa (1st ed. 1936 : 2nd ed. 1961, London).
8. M. Wilson, S. Kaplan, T. Maki and E. Walton, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey (vol. 3, Pietermaritzburg, 1952); O.F. Raum and E.J. de Jager, Transition and Change in a Rural Community. A Study of Acculturation in the Ciskei, South Africa (Fort Hare, 1972).
9. Xhosa in Town trilogy : D. H. Reader, The Black Man's Portion. History, Demography and Living Conditions in the Native Locations of East London, Cape Province (Cape Town, 1961) ; P. Mayer and I. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen : Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City (Cape Town, 1961 ; 2nd ed. 1971) ; B.A. Pauw, The Second Generation : A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London (Cape Town, 1963 ; 2nd ed. 1973). See also M. Wilson and A. Mafeje, Langa. A Study of Social Groups in an African Township (Cape Town, 1963).
10. W. Beinart, "Peasant Production, Underdevelopment and the Traditionalist Response : Pondoland c. 1880-1930" (unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1973); W. Beinart and C. Bundy, "State Intervention and Rural Resistance : The Transkei : 1900-1965" in

Peasants in Africa : Historical and Contemporary Perspectives edited by M.A. Klein (Beverley Hills, 1980).

11. C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of South African Peasantry (London, 1979).
12. Mayer (1980). For a sociological micro-study of the upper stratum of the African townships of Grahamstown see T.E. Nyquist, African Middle Class Elite (Occasional Paper no. 28, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1983).
13. A.-I. Berglund, Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism (London, 1976). The pioneering work of H. Callaway, The Religious System of the Amazulu (London, 1870) is a mine of oral historical material.
14. W.D. Hammond-Tooke, Boundaries and Belief. The Structure of a Sotho Worldview (Johannesburg, 1981). For a comprehensive discussion of the traditional African world view see W.D. Hammond-Tooke in The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa edited by W.D. Hammond-Tooke (2nd ed., London and Boston, 1974) chs. 10 and 11.
15. B.A. Pauw, Religion in a Tswana Chiefdom (London, 1960).
16. G.M. Setiloane, The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana (Rotterdam, 1976).
17. B.G.M. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (1st ed., London, 1948; 2nd ed., 1961).
18. E.g. G.C. Oosthuizen, Post-Christianity in Africa : A Theological and Anthropological Study (Stellenbosch, 1968); B.G.M. Sundkler, Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists (Oxford, 1976); M. West, Bishops and Prophets in a Black City. African Independent Churches in Soweto, Johannesburg (Cape Town, 1975). Numerous articles have also been published on the subject.
19. For an excellent survey see J.P. Kiernan, "Themes and Trends in the Study of Black Religion in Southern Africa",Journal of Religion in Southern Africa XII (2) : pp. 136-47. Kiernan himself has developed new theoretical models in his studies of Zionism in Natal : e.g. "Where Zionists draw the line : a study of religious exclusiveness in an African township", African Studies 33 (2) : pp. 79-90, 1974; "Poor and Puritan; an attempt to view Zionism as a collective response to urban poverty", African Studies 36 (1) : pp. 31 - 41, 1977; "Zionist Communion",Journal of Religion in Africa XI (2) : pp. 124 - 36, 1980.
20. A.A. Dubb, Community of the Saved. An African Revivalist Church in the East Cape (Johannesburg, 1976). Dubb uses some Weberian insights but draws mainly on Horton's intellectualist theoretical structure.
21. L. Mqotsi and N. Mkele, "A Separatist Church : Ibandla lika-Krestu", African Studies 5 (2) : pp. 106-25, 1946.
22. F.S. Edwards, "Healing and Transculturation in Xhosa Zionist Practice", Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry 7 : pp. 177-98, 1983, has opened the field in Grahamstown.
23. J.T. Vanderkemp, "An account of the Religion, Customs, Population, Government, Language, History, and Natural Productions of Caffraria", Transactions of the Missionary Society I : pp. 432-68 (London, 1804).
24. E.g. L. Alberti, Ludwig Alberti's Account of the Tribal Life and Customs of the Xhosa in 1807 (1810; trans. W. Fehr, Cape Town, 1968) pp. 47-53 ; J. Campbell, Travels in South Africa (3rd ed., London, 1815) Appendix pp. 365-73; J. Brownlee, "Account of the Amakosae, or Southern Caffres", Appendix to Travels and Adventures

in Southern Africa II by G. Thompson (London, 1827) pp. 448-51. More general information is found in F. Fleming, Kaffraria and its Inhabitants (London, 1853); S. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria (London, 1833); J. Maclean (compiler), A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs (Cape Town, 1858).

25. E.g. Bokwe (1914); W. Gqoba, "The Native Tribes, their Laws, Customs and Beliefs", Christian Express XV (179) : p. 93, June 1885; C. Pamla, Some reflections on native customs (rev. and ed. T. Cheeseman, Cape Town, 1913); J.H. Soga, The Ama-Xosa : Life and Customs (Lovedale, n.d. [1931?]); T.B. Soga, Intlalo ka Xosa (Lovedale, 1936; reprinted 1974).

26. E.g. C. Brownlee, "A Fragment on Xhosa Religious Beliefs", African Studies 14 (1) : pp. 37-41, 1955; E.J. de Jager and V.Z. Gitywa, "A Xhosa umhlwayelelo ceremony in the Ciskei", African Studies 22 (3) : pp. 109-16, 1963; B.M. du Toit, "Some aspects of the soul-concept among Bantu-speaking Nguni tribes of South Africa", Anthropological Quarterly 33 (3) : pp. 134-42, 1960; V. Z. Gitywa, "Initiation among the Xhosa at Ncerha near Alice", Fort Hare Papers 1970 and "Male Initiation in the Ciskei. Formal Incorporation into Bantu Society" (unpublished D. Litt. and Phil. thesis, University of Fort Hare, 1977); M. Gluckman, "Mortuary customs and the belief in the survival after death among South-Eastern Bantu", Bantu Studies 11 : pp. 117-36, 1937, and "Social Aspects of First Fruit Ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu", Africa 11 (1) : pp. 25-41, 1938; W.D. Hammond-Tooke, "Do the South Eastern Bantu Worship their Ancestors?" in Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa edited by J. Argyle and E. Preston-Whyte (Cape Town, 1978); M. Lamla, Traditional Healers and Their Medicine (Lumko Occasional Papers no. 2, 1981); T.S. Thelejane, "Pondo rainmaking ritual : ukukhonga", African Studies 22 (1) : pp. 33-6, 1963.

27. D.G. Bettison, "The Cosmology of the Southern Bantu" (unpublished MS, Rhodes University, 1954); J.S. Malan, "Die tradisionele Religie van die Xhosa" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1968).

28. E.H. Bigalke, "The Religious System of the Ndlambe of East London District" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1969); P.A.W. Cook, The Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana (Cape Town, n.d.); Hunter on the Mpondo (1936, 2nd ed. 1961); C.C. Olivier, Die Religie van die Gcaleka (Pretoria, 1981).

29. J. McLaren, "Religious Beliefs and Superstitions of the Xosas : a Study in Philology", South African Journal of Science 15: pp. 418-24, 1918.

30. M.V. Buhrman, "Tentative Views on Dream Therapy by Xhosa Diviners", The Journal of Analytical Psychology 23 (2) : pp. 105-21, 1978, and "Why are certain procedures of the indigenous healers effective?", Psychotherapeia 5 (3) : pp. 20 - 5, July 1979; B.J.F. Laubscher, Sex, Custom and Psychopathology (London, 1937) and The Pagan Soul (Cape Town, 1975).

31. S.S.M. Mema, "Religion in Xhosa Poetry" (Honours dissertation in African Languages, Unisa, 1970).

32. Although the following works do not relate specifically to Xhosa religion they include much material of religious interest : E.H. Bigalke, "An ethnomusicological study of the Ndlambe of South-Eastern Africa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983); D.D. Hansen, "The Music of the Xhosa-speaking people" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of

the Witwatersrand, 1981).

33. M. Hirst, "Bricoleurs, Brokers, Mediators, Healers and Magicians : The Diviner's Role and Function in Grahamstown", Curare 6 : pp. 51-68, 1983; B.A. Pauw, "Ancestor beliefs and rituals among urban Africans" in Black Religion in South Africa / African Studies 33 (2) : pp. 99-111, 1974.
34. C.M. Lamla, "Present-day Diviners (Ama-Gqira) in the Transkei" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Fort Hare, 1976); P.A. McAllister, Umsindleko : a Gcaleka ritual of incorporation (Occasional Paper no. 26, I.S.E.R., Rhodes University, 1981). In this study the ritual beer drink, umsindleko, is examined within the context of a series of ritual events associated with labour migration.
35. W.D.Hammond-Tooke, "The Symbolic Structure of Cape Nguni Cosmology" in Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa edited by M.G. Whisson and M. West (London, 1975) pp. 15-33.
36. H. Kuckertz, "Authority Structure and Homestead in a Mpondo Village" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983). See also H. Kuckertz (ed.), Ancestor Religion in Southern Africa (Lumko Missiological Institute, 1981).
37. B.A. Pauw, Christianity and Xhosa Tradition. Belief and Ritual among Xhosa-speaking Christians (Cape Town, 1975). See also his chapters on "African Christians and their Ancestors" in African Independent Church Movements edited by V.E.W. Hayward (London, 1963) pp. 33-46; "Patterns of Christianization among the Tswana and the Xhosa-speaking Peoples" in African Systems of Thought edited by M. Fortes and G. Dieterlen (London, 1965) pp. 240-57; and "Universalism and Particularism in the Beliefs of Xhosa - speaking Christians" in Whisson and West (1975) pp. 153-63. For his model see R. Redfield, The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago, 1960).
38. Other studies on Xhosa Christianity include G.C. Oosthuizen, "Attitudes towards Christian Churches in the Ciskei", African Studies 25(2) : pp. 81-94, 1966; S.I. Brown, "A sociological study of the influence of the Christian religion on the Bantu community at Rwarwa" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Unisa, 1969). Cf. A. Vilakazi, Zulu Transformations : A Study of the Dynamics of Change (Pietermaritzburg, 1962).
39. S. Dwane, "Christianity in Relation to Xhosa Religion" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1979). Earlier work focussed on a comparison between Xhosa and biblical concepts, e.g. B.J. Ross, "Xhosa Ideas and the Old Testament" (MS 8678, Cory Library, Rhodes University, n.d.).
40. D.D.T. Jabavu, An African Indigenous Church (Lovedale, 1942).
41. J.J.F. Durand, Swartman, Stad en Toekoms (Cape Town, 1970); H.L. Pretorius, Bitter as the Juice of an Aloe. A profile of conversion : motives and attitudinal changes (ISWEN Kommunikasie No. 3, 1983). There is also a valuable contribution by an Anglican priest, W.B. Jackson, "The Communication of the Message of Salvation to Young Urban Xhosa - an Empirical Study in the Eastern Cape" (unpublished M.Th. thesis, Unisa, 1983).
42. Lumko Missiological Institute has taken the lead for the Catholic Church in organizing a number of conferences on the subject and in publishing the collected papers. Xhosa scholars have predominated : H. Slattery and H. Bucher (eds.), Pastoral Orientation in a Changing World (Lumko Institute, 1976); H. Kuckertz (ed.), Culture and Morality (Lumko Institute, 1979); Kuckertz (1981).
43. See for example M.T. Lungu, "Xhosa Ancestor Veneration and the

Communion of Saints" (unpublished M.Th. thesis, Unisa, 1982).

44. A. Mafeje, "Religion, Class and Ideology in South Africa" in Whisson and West (1975) pp. 164-84. This is a radical change from his earlier functionalist orientation : "Leadership and Change. A Study of Two South African Peasant Communities" (unpublished M.A. thesis, U.C.T., 1963).

45. M.A. Mabona, "The Interaction and Development of different religions in the Eastern Cape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with special reference to the first two Xhosa prophets" (unpublished Religious Studies essay, 1973, SOAS, University of London).

46. J. Hodgson, The God of the Xhosa. A study of the origins and development of the traditional concepts of the supreme being (Cape Town, 1982).

47. These sort of problems are fully dealt with in Ranger and Kimambo (1972).

48. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (London, 1911). See also D.K. Clinton, The South African Melting Pot. A Vindication of Missionary Policy, 1799 - 1836 (London, 1937); H. Davies and R.H.W. Shepherd, South African Missions : 1800-1950 (London, 1954); G.B.A. Gerdiner, The Story of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town, 1950). Cf. the earlier work of H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions (London, 1858).

49. D. Williams, "The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799 - 1853" (Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1960), published in part in When Races Meet (Johannesburg, 1967); L.A. Hewson, "A study of missionary societies in South Africa" (Department of Divinity manuscript, Rhodes University, third series, 1957); B. Hutchinson, "Some Social Consequences of 19th Century Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu", Africa 27 (2), 1957.

50. E.g. for the London Missionary Society : D.R. Briggs, "An Historical Survey of the Bethelsdorp Station of the London Missionary Society, from its inception, and until the death of Doctor van der Kemp, in 1811" (unpublished B.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 1952); J. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800 - 1852 (Cape Town, 1974).

51. E.g. for the Anglican Church : G. Callaway, Pioneers in Pondoland (Lovedale, n.d.); M.M. Goedhals, "Anglican Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the first two Bishops 1853 - 1971" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1979) and "Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon and Bishop 1849 - 1882 : A Study in Church Life and Government" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982); S. Green, The First Hundred Years, 1873-1973. The Story of the Diocese of St. John's, South Africa (Umtata, 1974); Hodgson (1975). For the Catholic Church : M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ. A History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (1982) and Two Missionary Bishops (Mariannhill, 1983). For the Methodist Church : W.C. Holden, A Brief History of Methodism, and of Methodist Missions in South Africa (Lovedale, 1887); W.G. Mears, Mission to Clarkebury (Cape Town, n.d.); W. Shaw, A Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa (London, 1839).

52. G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld. Bransby Lewis Key, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria (London, 1912); Canon Benham, Henry Callaway M.D., D.D.. First Bishop for Kaffraria. His Life-History and Work (London, 1896); Holt (1954) and Greatheart of the Border. A Life of John Brownlee : Pioneer Missionary in South Africa (King

William's Town, 1976); A.D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp (London, 1931); G.C. Oosthuizen, Shepherd of Lovedale (Johannesburg, 1970); J. Wells, The Life of James Stewart (London, 1909); P.M. Whibley, Merriman of Grahamstown (Cape Town, 1982).

53. E.g. J. Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible. The Journal of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard (Cape Town, 1971); W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), The Journal of William Shaw (Cape Town, 1972); P. Hinchliff (ed.), The Journal of John Ayliff : 1821-1830 (Cape Town, 1971). See also P. Hinchliff, Calendar of Cape Missionary Correspondence, 1800-1850 (National Council for Social Research, 1967).

54. E.g. D.G.L. Cragg, "The Rôle of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Relations between the Mpondo and the Colonial Authorities" in Beyond the Cape Frontier edited by C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (London, 1974) pp. 101-26; H. Gailey, "The L.M.S. and the Cape Government, 1799-1828" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1957). See also W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton (London, 1929; 2nd ed., Oxford, 1964).

55. E.g. M.J. Ashley, "Universes in Collision : Xhosa, missionaries and education in 19th century South Africa", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 32 : pp. 28-38, September 1980 and "African Education and Society in the 19th century Eastern Cape" in Saunders and Derricourt (London, 1974) pp. 199-211; S.M. Brock, "James Stewart and Lovedale : A Reappraisal of Missionary Attitudes and African Responses in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1870-1905" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1974); A.E. du Toit, The Earliest South African Documents on the Education and Civilization of the Bantu (Communications of the University of South Africa, C47, Pretoria, 1963); L.A. Hewson, "Healdtown: A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 1959); R. Hunt Davis, "Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony : A Historical Analysis" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1969); R.H.W. Shepherd, Lovedale, South African, 1841-1941 (Lovedale, n.d.) and Lovedale, South Africa, 1824-1955 (Lovedale, 1971); J. Stewart, Lovedale, South Africa (Edinburgh, 1894) and Lovedale Past and Present (Lovedale, 1887).

56. N. Majeke (pseud.), The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg, c. 1952) see ch. 4 for the Xhosa; T. Matshikiza, "The Role of the Missionaries in the Conquest of South AFrica", Prism no. 63, See also "Mnguni", Three Hundred Years (3 vols., Cape Town, 1952).

57. M. Wilson, "Missionaries. Conquerors or Servants of God", South African Outlook 113 (1339) : pp. 13-16, January 1983.

58. Early uncritical studies include P.B. Blanckenberg, "The Vision of Nonqause", n.d., MS 782, Cory Library; A.W. Burton, "The Cattle-Killing Movement : 1856-57", Lecture 17 May 1946, MS in Cory Library; U. Long, "Did Kreli Attempt to Overcome the English by Spiritual Rather than by Military Force in 1856", May 1946, MS in Cory Library. More recent academic studies include B.B. Keller, "Millenarianism and Resistance : the Xhosa Cattle Killing", Journal of Asian and African Studies XIII (1-2) : pp. 95-111, 1978; M.-L. Martin, The Biblical Concept of Messianism and Messianism in Southern Africa (Morija, 1964) pp. 104-7; E.Moorcroft, "Theories of Millenarianism considered with reference to certain South African Movements" (unpublished B. of Letters thesis, Oxford University, 1967); R.D. Ralston, "Xhosa Cattle Sacrifice, 1856-57 : The Messianic Factor in African Resistance"

in Profiles in Self-Determination. African Responses to European Colonialism in Southern Africa. 1652 - Present edited by D. Chanaiwa (Northridge, 1976); S.A. Thorpe, "A Comparative Study of two Millenarian Responses to Stress - the North American Indian Ghost Dance (1890) and the Xhosa Cattle-Killing (1857)", (unpublished M.A. thesis, Unisa, 1982) and "Religious response to stress : The Xhosa Cattle Killing and the Indian Ghost Dance", Missionalia 12 (3) : pp. 129-37.

59. Studies which include a longer historical view include B. B. Keller, "The Origins of Modernism and Conservatism among the Cape Nguni" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1970); A.G. Kellerman, "Profetisme in Suid-Afrika in Akkulturasie Perspektief" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Utrect University, 1964); J.B. Peires, "Nxele, Ntsikana and the Origins of the Xhosa Religious Reaction",Journal of African History 20 (1) : pp. 51-61, 1979; O.F. Raum, "Von Stammespropheten zu Sektenführern" in Messianische Kirchen, Sekten und Bewegungen im Heutigen Afrika edited by E. Benz (Leiden, 1965) pp. 49-70; M. Wilson, "Co-operation and Conflict : the Eastern Cape Frontier" in The Oxford History of South Africa I, edited by M. Wilson and L. Thompson (2 vols., Oxford, 1969) ch. 6.

60. E.g. W.G. Mills, "The Role of African Clergy in the Reorientation of Xhosa Society to the Plural Society in the Cape Colony, 1850-1915" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1975), published in part in "The Taylor Revival of 1866 and the Roots of African Nationalism in the Cape Colony", Journal of Religion in Africa VIII (2) : pp. 105-22, 1976, and "The Fork in the Road, Religious Separatism versus African Nationalism in the Cape Colony, 1890-1910",Journal of Religion in Africa IX (1) : pp. 51-61, 1978; C.C. Saunders, "The New African Elite in the Eastern Cape and some Late Nineteenth Century Origins of African Nationalism", Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries I (University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oct. 1969 - April 1970) pp. 44-55; S. Trapido, "White Conflict and Non-White Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970); D. Williams, "African Nationalism in South Africa : Origins and Problems", Journal of African History XI (3) : pp. 371-83, 1970. For a wider overview see A. Odendaal, "The Development of African Organisational Politics in South Africa, with Particular Emphasis on the Responses of Africans to the process of Unification, 1899-1910" (M.A. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1980), published as Vukani Bantu. The beginnings of black protest politics in South Africa (Cape Town, 1983); P. Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. The African National Congress 1912-1952 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971).

61. A. Odendaal, "African Political Mobilisation in the Eastern Cape, 1880-1910" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983).

62. D. Williams, Umfundisi. A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871 (Lovedale, 1978). For an early history of the Mfengu which related to the development of ethnicity and nationalism see R.W. Moyer, "A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1815-1865" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976).

63. Williams (1978). For earlier studies see J.A. Chalmers, Tiyo Soga. A Page of South African Mission Work (Edinburgh and London, 1877); H.T. Cousins, From Kaffir Kraal to Pulpit : The Story of

Tiyo Soga (London, 1895) and Tiyo Soga. The Model Kaffir Missionary (London, 1897).

64. R. Hunt Davis, "School vs. Blanket and Settler. Elijah Makiwane and the Leadership of the Cape School Community", African Affairs 78 (310) : pp. 12-31, 1979.
65. Z.S. Qangule, "A Study of Theme and Technique in the Creative Works of S.E.K.L.N. Mqhayi" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.C.T., 1979).
66. The study by S.E.K. Mqhayi, John Knox Bokwe (Lovedale, 1925) reflects the laudatory role of the author as imbongi, "tribal bard". For autobiographical information on Mqhayi himself see Mqhayi in Translation edited by P.E. Scott (Communication no. 6, Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, 1976).
67. The biography of his father by D.D.T. Jabavu, The Life of John Tengo Jabavu, editor of Imvo Zabantsundu 1884-1921 (Lovedale, n.d. c.1922) is clearly biassed. For a more objective study see L.D. Ngcongco, "John Tengo Jabavu 1859-1921" in Black Leaders in Southern African History edited by C. Saunders (London, 1979) ch. 9.
68. T.D. Mweli Skota, The African Yearly Register (Johannesburg, 1st ed. 1930, 2nd. ed. 1932); R.H.W. Shepherd, Bantu Literature and Life (Lovedale, 1955). Excellent biographical notes are found in T. Karis and G.M. Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964 IV (4 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972). My study of Old Soga, father of Tiyo, and Dukwana, son of Ntsikana in J. Hodgson, Two Men of Africa (forthcoming publication), looks at two lesser known but significant figures in the 19th century.
69. See for example the early studies of A. Lea, "Native Separatist Churches" and L. Mzimba, "The African Church" in Christianity and the Natives of South Africa. A Year-Book of South African Missions edited by J. Dexter Taylor (Lovedale, 1928). Scholarly studies include C.C. Saunders, "Tile and the Thembu Church : Politics and Independency on the Cape Eastern Frontier in the Late Nineteenth Century", Journal of African History XI (4) : pp. 553-70, 1970; T. Verryn, A History of the Order of Ethiopia (Johannesburg, 1972). For a general overview see M.T. Moeti, "Ethiopianism : Separatist Roots of African Nationalism in South Africa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1981).
70. R.R. Edgar, "The Fifth Seal : Enoch Mgijima, the Israelites and the Bullhoek (sic) massacre" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1977).
71. For information on Mrs Paul see S. Green, The First Hundred Years 1873-1973. The Story of the Diocese of St. John's (Umtata, 1974) pp. 131-8; Pauw (1975) ch. 12.
72. For a general overview see R. Elphick, "Methodology in South African Historiography : A Defence of Idealism and Empiricism" (African Seminar, Centre for African Studies, U.C.T., 7 March 1984); H.M. Wright, The Burden of the Present. Liberal-radical controversy over Southern African history (Cape Town, 1977) and "The Burden of the Present and its Critics", Social Dynamics 6(1) : pp. 36-48, 1980.
73. S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980); Marks and Rathbone (1982).
74. B. Sundkler, "Certain Patterns of Analysis for the Study of African Church History" (paper delivered at Grahamstown, 1980).
75. N.A. Etherington, "The Rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa :

African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880" (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1971), published as Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880 (London, 1978).

76. N.A. Etherington, "The Historical Sociology of Independent Churches in South East Africa", Journal of Religion in Africa X (2) : pp. 108-26, 1979.
77. Mills (1976) and (1978).
78. R. Elphick, "Africans and the Christian Campaign in Southern Africa" in The Frontier in History. North America and Southern Africa compared edited by H. Lamar and L. Thompson (New Haven, 1981).
79. G. and M. Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change (Cambridge, 1945). See also M. Wilson, Religion and the transformation of Society. A Study in Social Change in Africa (Cambridge, 1971) ch.1.
80. M. Wilson (1971) pp. 23, 150-1.
81. Ibid., pp. 46-51.
82. Mafeje (1971) p. 258. For a critique of the dualistic perspective see Sharp and West (1982).
83. R. Horton, "A Hundred Years of Change in Kalabari Religion" in Black Africa : Its Peoples and their Cultures To-day edited by J. Middleton (London, 1970) p.211. See also R. Horton, "African Traditional Thought and Western Science" in Rationality edited by B.R. Wilson (Oxford, 1974).
84. R. Horton, "African Conversion", Africa 41 (2) : pp. 85-108, 1971. For a summary see R. Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion", Africa 45 (3) : pp. 219-20, 1975.
85. Horton (1971) p. 102.
86. Ibid., p. 104.
87. Horton (1975) pp. 219-35; Ranger and Kimambo (1972) pp. 15-17, 22; Van Binsbergen (1981) pp. 28-9, 33-42.
88. For support see E.A. Alpers, "Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa : the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) pp. 195-6. For criticism see Horton's response to the Islamist, Humphrey Fisher, in Horton (1975).
89. Van Binsbergen developed a similar model to Horton's which he tested on his western Zambian material (1891) ch. 4. H. Bucher found that Horton's theory failed to correctly predict the way in which Shona cosmology reacted to profound changes. Therefore the hypothesis of Christianity's role as a mere catalyst remained unverified among the Shona : Spirits and Power. An Analysis of Shona Cosmology (Cape Town, 1980) pp. 142-7.
90. Dubb (1976) pp. 154-6.
91. Moyer (1976) pp. 508-13.
92. Bucher notes that contrary to Horton's predictions, a massive appearance of "lesser spirits" was directly connected with the onslaught of the modern situation upon the traditional Shona microcosms. The Holy Spirit in the Shona "Churches of the Spirit" was not the high god, and the emergence of these churches did not bring about a decrease in the importance of the traditional "lesser spirits" : (1980) p. 146.
93. R. Gray challenges Horton's approach in that he seems "to overlook the possibility that the world religions may have introduced completely new concepts to the African religious repertory" : "Christianity and Religious Change in Africa", African Affairs 77 (306) : p. 96, 1978.
94. I am indebted to Prof. J.S. Cumpsty for this insight.

95. Van Binsbergen (1981) p. 228.
96. Ibid., pp. 66, 73.
97. J.S. Cumpsty, "A Proposed General Framework for Identifying and Locating Religious Experience", Religion in Southern Africa 4 (2) : pp. 21-37, July 1983.
98. M.L. Daneel, The God of the Matopo Hills. An essay on the Mwari Cult of Rhodesia (The Hague and Paris, 1970a).
99. Van Binsbergen (1981) p. 302.
100. For example Turner identifies four main groups : Neo-Primal Movements, Syncretist Movements, Hebraist Movements and Independent Churches (1979) chs. 5 and 7. See also Oosthuizen (1968); F.B. Welbourn, "A Note on Types of Religious Society" in Christianity in Tropical Africa edited by C. G. Baëta (London, 1968) pp. 131-8; B. R. Wilson, Magic and the Millennium (London, 1973).
101. V. Lanternari, "Nativism and Socio-religious Movements : A. Reconsideration", Comparative Studies in Society and History 16(4) : pp. 486-7, Sept. 1974. See also H.W. Turner, Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies. I Black Africa (Boston, 1977).
102. E.g. E. Andersson, Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo (Uppsala, 1958); G. Balandier, "Messianism and Nationalism in Black Africa" in Problems in the History of Colonial Africa 1860-1960 edited by R.O. Collins (New Jersey, 1970) pp. 347-51; R. Bastide, "Messianism and Social and Economic Development" in Social Change. The Colonial Situation edited by I. Wallerstein (New York, 1966); E. Benz, Messianische Kirchen, Sekten und Bewegungen im Heutigen Afrika (Leiden, 1965); V. Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed. A Study of Modern Messianic Cults (London, 1963); Martin (1978); Raum (1965); W.D. Wallis, Messiahs: Their Role in Civilization (Washington, 1943).
103. K. Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth, A Study of Millenarian Activities (Oxford, 1969); N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (London, 1957); S.L. Thrupp (ed.), Millennial Dreams in Action (The Hague, 1967); P. Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound (London, 1957).
104. R. Linton, "Nativistic Movements", American Anthropologist XLV : pp. 230-40, 1943.
105. G. Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African (Edinburgh, 1958); Sundkler (1961).
106. D. Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as applied to Millenarian and other cult movements" in Thrupp (1967).
107. G. Baëta, Prophetism in Ghana (London, 1962); M. Banton, "African Prophets", Race 5 (2) : pp. 42-55, 1963; M.A. Doutreloux, "Prophetisme et culture" in African Systems of Thought edited by M. Fortes and G. Dieterlen (London, 1965) pp. 224-39 and "Prophetism and development", Africa Quarterly 6 (4), 1967; H. - J. Greschat, Westafrikanische Propheten. Morphologie einer religiösen Spezialisierung (Marburg, 1974); N. Kastfelt, "African Prophetism and Christian Missionaries in Northeast Nigeria", Journal of Religion in Africa VIII (3) : pp. 175-88, 1976; R.J.F. Köbben, "Prophetic movements as an Expression of Social Protest", International Archives of Ethnography 49 (1) : pp. 117-64, 1960; N.I. Ndiokwere, Prophecy and Revolution. The Role of Prophets in the Independent African Churches and in Biblical Tradition (London, 1981); P. Rigby, "Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism : The Recent History of Kiganda Religion", Journal of Anthropological Research 31 : pp. 116-48, 1975; K. Schlosser,

Propheten in Afrika (Braunschweig, 1949) and Eingeborenenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika (Kiel, 1958).

108. G.E. Simpson, "Jamaican revivalist cults", Social and Economic Studies V (4) : pp. 321-42, 1956.
109. A.F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements", American Anthropologist 60 : pp. 264-81, 1956. Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture", and uses the other terms as denoting subclasses.
110. G. Bond, W. Johnson and S.S. Walker (eds.), African Christianity. Patterns of Religious Continuity (New York, 1979) p. 168.
111. Ibid. See for example Balandier (1970); D.B. Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa. An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements (London, 1968); G.S. Budaza, "The Native Separatist Church Movement" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Unisa, 1948); Hayward (1963); E.B. Idowu, "The Predicament of the Church in Africa" in Baëta (1968); G.C. Oosthuizen, "Independentism in South Africa", South African Outlook 96 (1146) : pp. 172-4, Nov. 1966, and 96 (1147): pp. 197-8, Dec. 1966; Sundkler (1961); Verryn (n.d.).
112. Bond et al. (1979) p. 168. For a critique of the principal theoretical and methodological questions raised by recent studies see Kiernan (1981) and Lanternari (1974) pp. 483-503.
113. W. de Craemer, J. Vansina and R.C. Fox, "Religious Movements in Central Africa : A Theoretical Study", Comparative Studies in Society and History 18 : pp. 458-75, 1976.
114. Ibid., p. 472. See also Bond et al (1979).
115. E.g. J.S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy (London, 1969); Pauw (1960); Ray (1976) ch. 8.
116. In a plea for a positive attitude in investigating African churches, J.F. Ade. Ajayi and E.A. Ayandele note that writers generally behave "as if the Christian Church were in Africa but not of Africa" : "Writing African Church History" in The Church Crossing Frontiers edited by P. Beyerhaus and C.F. Hallencreutz (Uppsala, 1969) p. 94.
117. J. Hodgson, "The Genius of Ntsikana. Traditional Images and the Process of Change in Early Xhosa Literature" in Literature and Society in South Africa edited by L. White and T. Couzens (Cape, 1984).
118. Bond et al (1979) p. 161.
119. For a useful discussion see B. Sundkler, "The Concept of Christianity in the African Independent Churches", African Studies 20 : pp. 203-13, 1961.
120. J.M. Janzen and W. MacGaffey, An Anthology of Kongo Religion. (Kansas, 1974) pp. 4, 33.
121. M.L. Daneel, Zionism and Faith-Healing in Rhodesia (The Hague and Paris, 1970 b), Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches (2 vols., The Hague and Paris, 1971 and 1974), "The Growth and Significance of Shona Independent Churches" in Christianity South of the Zambezi 2, edited by M.F.C. Bourdillon (Salisbury, 1977) pp. 177-92, and "Towards a theologia africana? The contribution of Independent Churches to African theology", Missionalia 12 (2): pp. 64-89, August 1984.
122. M.W. Murphree, Christianity and the Shona (London, 1969).
123. Ibid., p. 151.
124. Ibid., p. 168.
125. E. Fasholé-Luke, "Introduction - Traditional Religion and Christianity : Continuities and Conflicts", pp. 357-8, and T.

Ranger, "The Churches, the Nationalist State and African Religion", pp. 486-502, in Fasholé-Luke et al. (1978); Prins (1980) p. 9. For a comparative reference in Melanesia, see Worsley (1957, paperback edition 1968) p. 340.

126. Cumpsty (1980) p. 59.
127. Ibid., p. 61.
128. Ibid., p. 62.
129. This is fully dealt with in J.S. Cumpsty, J.H. Hofmeyer and G. Kruss, "The Role of Religion in Motivating or Inhibiting Socio-Political Action in the Lower Socio-Economic Group and Ensuing Counter Influences upon the Religious Group", Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into Intergroup Relations, Department of Religious Studies, U.C.T., July 1984.
130. Ibid., p.11. See also Cumpsty (1980) pp. 59-63. Quotations are from Cumpsty's manuscript of "An Ideal Typology of Religions" except where otherwise indicated.
131. Ibid.
132. The Dogon creation myth is one such exception : M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen, Le Renard Pale (Paris, 1965) chs. 1-3.
133. J.V. Taylor, The Primal Vision. Christian Presence amid African Religion (London, 1963) p. 64.
134. Idowu (1973) p. 190.
135. P. Tempels, Bantu Philosophy (Zaire, 1945; English translation Paris, 1959).
136. Ibid., p. 45.
137. Idowu (1973) pp. 102-4, and Taylor (1963) pp. 65-6, support Tempels's theory; but E. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer Religion (Oxford, 1956) p. 317, and Mbiti (1969) p. 10, argue that while the concept of "vital force" may be true of Baluba philosophy, it cannot be applied to other African peoples. Ray (1976) p. 13, argues that notions such as "force" and "vitality" are not precise enough to deal with the complex logic of the ideas and symbols involved. S.O. Okafor rejects Tempels's theory, arguing that the "concept of life" is at the core of African cosmology : "Bantu Philosophy : Placide Tempels Revisited", Journal of Religion in Africa XIII (2) : p. 91, 1982.
138. Okot p'Bitek, African Religions in Western Scholarship (Nairobi, 1970) p. 64, protests against wide-scale reductionism in the interpretation of traditional African religious concepts practised by both European and African writers. A. Shorter, African Christian Theology - Adaptation or Incarnation? (London, 1975) ch. 3, suggests a number of different ways of approaching the comparative study of African religion so as to try and circumvent this problem.
139. Idowu maintains that where there are many gods, as with the Yoruba, they derive their being and authority from the supreme being and he calls this "diffused monotheism" : (1973) pp. 133-4. But what he is describing is monism however significant he may consider the high-god to be. He is importing the western need to justify authority hierarchically, whereas in African experience hierarchy is simply ascribed.
140. Ray (1976) pp. 50-1. See also Evans-Pritchard (1956) p. 316; E. G. Parrinder, "Monotheism and Pantheism in Africa", Journal of Religion in Africa III : pp. 81-8, 1970.
141. Ray (1976) pp. 58-61.
142. G. Lienhardt, "The Shilluk of the Upper Nile" in African Worlds. Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples, edited by D. Forde (Oxford, 1954) pp. 160-1.

143. Berglund (1976) pp. 53-9.
144. M.J. McVeigh, God in Africa. Conceptions of God in African Traditional Religion and Christianity (Massachusetts, 1974) pp. 128-131.
145. Ray (1976) pp. 52-3, regards these paradoxical combinations of attributes as part of the transcendent nature of the African supreme being. But as with "monotheism", "transcendence" is here being misused.
146. McVeigh (1974) pp. 138-9.
147. For examples of Mesopotamian and Egyptian myths see S.H. Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology (Middlesex, 1963) chs. 1 and 2.
148. For a discussion of the wisdom literature of the ancient world see Anderson (1974) pp. 488-9. See also J. Bright, A History of Israel (2nd ed., London, 1972) pp. 215-6, 440-1; Rowley (c 1945) pp. 125-8.
149. In general the proverbs state "universally accepted principles and give guidance as to conduct in particular circumstances". Most are couched in symbolic terms : Jordan (1973) p. 33.
150. This is a better explanation than Tempels's belief that African wisdom depends on a knowledge of the philosophy of forces : of the intelligence of forces, their hierarchy, their cohesion and their interaction. Accordingly, the power to know is the prerogative of the elders because of their ranking in the order of primogeniture in the chain of vital force linking God to man : (1959) ch. 3.
151. See for example the discussion by E. Ikenga-Metuh, "Religious Concepts in West African Cosmogonies", Journal of Religion in Africa XIII (1) p. 18, 1982.
152. Hooke (1963) p. 11. Cf. E.A. Ruch and K.C. Anyanwu, African Philosophy (Rome, 1981) p. 35, who define myth as "a complex set of signs, both verbal and gestural, which aim at accounting for some of the most fundamental problems of life and existence and thus providing man with a sense of security, a vaguely surmised eternal destiny and an explanation of the meaning of his existence in the natural and social milieu in which he lives".
153. Hooke (1963) pp. 11-16. Ruch and Anyanwu distinguish seven different types of myth and give four functions of myth : explanatory, justificatory, descriptive and effective : (1981) pp. 35-7.
154. "African cosmogonies not only provide the symbolic categories by which Africans understand the organization of their universe, but also suggests patterns by which they try to maintain the balance and the harmony of the world through ritual" : Ikenga - Metuh (1982) p. 11.
155. Griaule and Dieterlen (1965) chs. 1-3.
156. E.g. U. Beier, The Origin of Life and Death. African Creation Myths (London, 1966); C.H. Long, Alpha : Myths of Creation (New York, 1963); J. Middleton (ed.), Myth and Cosmos (New York, 1967) ; G.Parrinder, African Mythology (London, 1967); A. Werner, Myths and Legends of the Bantu (London, 1933).
157. For a discussion on the importance of African myth-history in giving meaning to the world see Ray (1976) p. 24.
158. Idowu (1962) ch. 2.
159. Warner (1933) ch.8.
160. Mbiti (1969) p. 17.
161. E.E. Evans-Pritchard says of the Nuer that "the daily timepiece is the cattle clock" : The Nuer (London, 1940) p. 101.
162. For the Xhosa, January is named after the ripening of the Tambookie grass; February, after the pod-bearing trees; March, the

harvesting of grain; April, when pumpkins become frost-bitten; May, the appearance of Saturn, etc. : J. Bud-M'Belle, Kafir Scholar's Companion (London, 1903) pp. xiv-xv, 12-14; J. McLaren, A Grammar of the Kaffir Language (London, 1929) pp. 204-6; Soga (c 1931) pp. 417-9.

163. For the Xhosa, Spring is when the grass sprouts, Summer is when all is the same, i.e. all green, Autumn is the time of eating, i.e. harvest, and Winter when the corn is ripe for cutting : Soga (c 1931) pp. 417.
164. E.g. for the Xhosa 1818 is the year of the war of Ngqika and Ndlambe at Amalinde; 1841, the year of the comet; 1851, the great earthquake; 1856, a great rain; 1862, a great drought : Bud-M'Belle (1903) pp. 132-4.
165. J.S. Mbiti, New Testament Eschatology in an African Background (London, 1971) pp. 24-5.
166. For a further discussion see Horton (1974) p. 167.
167. Mbiti (1969) p. 23. See also Gray (1978) pp. 96-8.
168. Mbiti (1969) p. 190.
169. Ray (1976) p. 41. See also B. Ray, "Recent Studies of African Religions", History of Religion 12 (1) : p. 83, 1972.
170. Ray (1976) pp. 110-5, 155-73.
171. G. and M. Wilson (1945) pp. 31-6. See also N.S. Booth, "Time and Change in African Traditional Thought", Journal of Religion in Africa VII (2) : p. 85, 1975.
172. Ray (1976) p. 42.
173. Booth (1975) p. 90.
174. Mabona (1973) p. 3. See for example the historical studies of Shona religion : Daneel (1970 a) ; E.K. Mashingaidze, "Christianity and the Mhondoro Cult. A Study of African Religious Initiative and Resilience in the Mazoe Valley Area of Mashonaland", Mohlomi, Journal of Southern African Historical Studies I : pp. 71-87, 1976.
175. Rowley (c 1945) p. 78, notes that Israel in the early period was non-eschatological to the highest degree and that linear time was unknown. Time was understood in a periodic sense and the processes were determined by the cycle of the natural year. Moreover, this temporal ordering included all the concerns of mankind too. See for example Ecclesiastes 3 : 1-8.
176. Mbiti (1969) pp. 106-8.
177. G.E. von Grunebaum quoted by E.A. Alpers, "Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) p. 173.
178. Wilson (1971) p. 52.
179. H. Kuper, An African Aristocracy. Rank among the Swazi (London, 1947) ch. 13.
180. T. Fawcett, The Symbolic Language of Religion (London, 1970) p. 214.
181. Cumpsty (1980) p. 60.
182. Anderson (1967) p. 34.
183. Ibid., p.7.
184. Ibid., p.37.
185. J. Cumpsty, "Music in the Religious Life" (a sermon preached in St. George's Cathedral, 2nd November 1975), The Gateway, pp. 10-13, December 1975.

PART I : RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT BEFORE NTSIKANA

1. RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN XHOSA WORLD VIEW

In this chapter I will be giving a brief résumé of what little is known about the myths of the Xhosa and the origins and development of their traditional concepts of the supreme being so as to locate the coming of Christianity within the ongoing process of religious change. (1) The scene is set with a short introduction to Xhosa history and society so as to show how disturbance of their socio-cultural experience, more especially interaction with Khoi (Hottentots) and San (Bushmen) over an extended period of time, led to cultural diffusion. This provides the framework for a discussion of the Xhosa myths of origin and the coming of death. Concepts of the supreme being are dealt with according to the different god-names. These are described together with their functions and Khoisan (Khoi and San) and missionary influences. The whole is placed within the context of ongoing Xhosa history enabling me to indicate some of the influences which determined the selection and acceptance of new elements from the incoming traditions.

The lack of archaeological evidence and cultural-historical information makes the reconstruction of Xhosa religious history a difficult task. Even having resort to linguistic evidence, many of my findings must of necessity remain speculative and raise questions that cannot be settled on the available information. (2) Nonetheless, this type of documentation is vital in providing the basis for an evaluation of Ntsikana's contribution to social and religious change.

1.1. BACKGROUND TO XHOSA HISTORY AND SOCIETY : THEIR INTERACTION WITH KHOISAN

1.1.1 GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENT OF THE XHOSA

Of primary importance is the fact that the Xhosa were on the move over an extended period of time, coming into contact with people of other cultures with whom they intermarried. There has been considerable speculation as to where the parent body, the abeNguni, originally came from, by what routes they migrated south, and when this movement took place. (3)

Westphal uses linguistic evidence to conclude that one important point of entry was across the lower Zambezi; but

admits that this must still be corroborated by historical studies. (4) Archaeological evidence has been used to suggest that the ancestral Nguni were settled in Natal by the eleventh century, but the connections are tenuous. (5)

In an attempt to dispel the myth-making, Wilson analyses the evidence from three sources : the written records of survivors from shipwrecks on the south-east coastline, oral traditions and archaeological investigations. She argues convincingly that the main movement of Nguni peoples occurred before the period covered by Xhosa genealogies, i.e. circa 1300, and that it may well have been centuries before that. (6) What is of greater significance, though, is that the evidence seems to indicate that Nguni-speakers were settled south of the Mthatha River before the end of the sixteenth century. (7) According to traditions, the Xhosa, Pondomise and Thembu lived in the foothills of the Drakensberg before coming to the coast. They are then thought to have moved gradually westward over a period of three hundred years, from about 1550 to 1850. (8) This was done in a fragmentary manner and Peires rightly describes it as expansion rather than migration. As already noted, he shows that the Xhosa were defined politically and were heterogenous in origin. (9)

Reports by Portuguese survivors of shipwrecks along the south-east coast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that the Nguni people herded cattle, hunted game, cultivated sorghum, "lived in beehive shaped huts in scattered homesteads and were ruled over by chiefs whom they called inkosi". (10) One of the main reasons for Xhosa expansion was the hiving off of the sons of reigning chiefs to found new chiefdoms of their own, so relieving the political pressure at the centre of the kingdom. (11) Movement was also precipitated by the need to find new hunting grounds and fresh pastures. (12) It has been suggested that the heavily wooded nature of the area contributed towards the relatively slow rate of progress because the forest had to be burnt to provide grazing prior to occupation. (13) But present studies indicate that the forests were limited to the escarpment and that the plains were grasslands.

Xhosa expansion met with little resistance until it reached the Kei River. The land east of the Kei was originally occupied by roving bands of "hunter-gatherers" generally known as San or Bushmen. (14) As the Xhosa penetrated further the San were driven from their hunting grounds to seek refuge in the mountain strongholds of the Drakensberg. But some established a symbiotic relationship with the Xhosa and continued to occupy the same territory.

Intermarriage took place on a limited scale. Xhosa tradition records that Sikhomo was the first chief to marry a San woman, but that she ran away to her home on the Orange River after the birth of a son. (15) This was probably in the seventeenth century.

West of the Kei lived scattered groups of semi-nomadic "hunter-herders" known as Khoi (Khoikhoi) or Hottentots. Available linguistic and archaelogical evidence indicates that they had occupied this area for many centuries. (16) There was some active resistance among the Khoi to the Xhosa advance; but on the whole friendly relations were established between them and they lived side by side for many years. (17) Although quite a number of Xhosa refugees were absorbed into Khoi chiefdoms, the general trend was for the Khoi gradually to become incorporated into Xhosa society in a patron-client relationship. (18) While the link was initially established through trade, extensive intermarriage, led by the respective royal lineages, opened the way for cultural diffusion. (19) Peires notes : "it is certain that a Khoi who entered Xhosa society did so on terms of distinct inferiority, but since this inferiority was expressed in economic terms and not in social or racial ones, it passed within the course of a generation". (20) Mixed Khoi and Xhosa communities are recorded by European travellers in Ciskei and Transkei from the eighteenth century on.

1.1.2 Cultural Diffusion

The "clicks" or implosive consonants in the Xhosa language indicate the extent of Khoisan influence on Xhosa culture. (21) Linguistic evidence suggests that interaction could have taken place over as long a period as four centuries, (22) and it could well have been longer. One sixth of all Xhosa words contain clicks, but of the 2,400 click words in Xhosa only 375 have cognates in Zulu. (23) Thus the indications are that the Xhosa acquired the majority of the click words in their language after they separated from the parent Nguni body. This is significant for the historical study of the religious development of the Xhosa. Firstly, the linguistic evidence shows that cultural interaction with the Khoisan took place while the Xhosa and Zulu still belonged to a common stock, and can be dated from before 1300. (24) Secondly, it shows that the Xhosa incorporated a large number of religious terms from the Khoisan, and that those that are not present in the Zulu language must have been acquired during the period of Xhosa expansion through Transkei and Ciskei.

Harinck suggests that the inferior social status of the Khoi was balanced by a high religious status; and reasons that this was attributed to them by the Xhosa in the belief that as the original occupants of the land they had a special ability to protect it. (25) Peires disputes this hypothesis for lack of supporting evidence; but he does not say by whose authority or by what evidence he bases his statement that while most rainmakers around 1805 were Khoi, "they were later superseded by the Mfengu, who had even less title to the land than the Xhosa". (26) In the 1830s, Backhouse makes a sweeping generalization that "almost the whole of the Caffre doctors are of the Fingo nation". (27) While Mfengu diviners certainly seemed to have enjoyed popularity among the Xhosa of Ciskei after 1835, there is no proof that they entirely eclipsed their Xhosa colleagues. Hirst notes that in traditional Xhosa society the profession of diviner was open to anyone who had experienced the "call of the ancestors", and this included the Khoi and the Mfengu as well as the Xhosa proper. (28) In some parts the San were renowned as rainmakers too, (29) and even the first missionaries were cast in this role. (30)

Hirst also makes the point that the materia medica of the Xhosa amaggirha depended on locally occurring trees, plants and herbs. Certain of these plants occur only in specific ecological settings. Migration into new territory would necessitate learning about the new environment from the already established inhabitants, no matter that they might have been conquered. Modern diviners in Ciskei can distinguish several medicinal plants that the Xhosa incorporated from the Khoi and San some time in the past, and this explains why the Xhosa at first made use of these people as rainmakers. The Khoisan are said to have obtained knowledge of medicinal plants, as the Xhosa ancestors did, by observing the eating habits of wild animals, especially the mammalian species. (31)

The extent of Khoisan influence on Xhosa belief and customs is debatable and awaits further analysis, but there is no doubt that interaction took place at a deep cultural level. (32) There is evidence to show that the mutual influences of their myths of life and death influenced both Khoi and Xhosa ritual, and that the more developed Khoi notions of the supreme being brought about changes in the Xhosa world view and religious practice. It is on these aspects that I shall be focussing.

From the evidence it is clear that warfare, trade and intermarriage between San, Khoi and Xhosa would result in

time in the formation of social relationships, as kinsmen if nothing else, and that one of the results of this interaction would be cultural diffusion. (33) However, although one can come to the general conclusion that the incorporation of large numbers of Khoisan individuals into Xhosa society provided the opportunity for the Xhosa to assimilate new ideas from the Khoisan, of specific interest for the study of religious change is what influences were at work in determining the selection and acceptance of particular elements from the Khoisan tradition by the Xhosa.

With the distance in time and the scanty evidence available there can be no certainty as to the effects of geographical movement and cultural diffusion on the Xhosa prior to 1800; but I suggest that their socio-cultural experience had been sufficiently disturbed to create a need for new modes of explanation and control to cope with new situations, more especially the strange ecological environment and the foreign way of life of the Khoisan, and that the process of change that I will be tracing will show how these needs were fulfilled by assimilating new religious ideas and practices from the Khoisan. This can be seen to correspond with a move from what Cumpsty calls the "Static Stage" to the "Search Stage" in his "Model of Change in Socio-Cultural Disturbance".

The Static Stage relates to a society which has experienced minimal disturbance for a considerable length of time. The religion would be expected to manifest characteristics typical of a Nature Religion : a behaviour pattern, texture orientated (i.e. the quality of life would be judged by its present texture rather than by some future goal), immanentist, a weak tradition in that it is carried by a few specialists and lacks coherence, and the myths would reflect the qualities of socio-cultural experience. In this stage the group members would have their sense of reality firmly integrated with their socio-cultural experience, and this would not be open to any serious shift in their understanding of ultimate reality unless their socio-cultural experience was disturbed. The northern Nguni would have remained in this stage after the migrating group moved away. (34)

In the Search Stage the pace of change is not yet great enough to create insecurity : social cohesion has not yet been threatened and the authority of the tradition remains intact; but there is nonetheless a need to fill an almost unconscious symbol vacuum and to find a new source of power with which to cope with new situations. Cumpsty argues that there would then "be a search for elements from

the incoming tradition with which to understand its own gradually changing sense of reality and at the same time a move to give new meaning to suitable elements of its own tradition". (35) Among the Xhosa the search led to accommodation with the incoming tradition of the Khoisan and, as Hirst rightly observes, the accretion of new elements would be "at precisely those points where the conventional theory fails to satisfactorily interpret and translate the inexplicable in everyday social life and human experience". (36)

I see the religious changes that took place among the Xhosa in the pre-Christian period as being part of an ongoing process, supporting the view that the traditional Xhosa religious system was dynamic and was adaptable to new developments, the needs of specific situations determining the pattern of change. Lack of evidence about earlier Xhosa history has limited the scope of this assessment. It is not possible to trace the general process of change from an earlier time, nor is it possible to determine how much the religious changes analysed below are partly a response to contemporary socio-economic and political change, such as the growth of long-distance trade or change in the role of chieftainship; but it is evident that the increasing contact with the white man at the beginning of the nineteenth century heightened the needs of the Xhosa in a context of increasing socio-cultural disturbance.

1.2 XHOSA MYTHS

1.2.1 Cosmogonic Myths

Xhosa Myths of Origin

Like most African myths, the Xhosa myths are primarily concerned with the origin of man and the world around him. They are not creation stories. Rather, they are part of the socialization process, a kind of "just so" story told to children by their elders to satisfy their curiosity. The myths describe how the first man and woman, together with their animals, appeared on earth from a previous existence. The so-called "Creator", perhaps better, originator, is conceived as enabling them to emerge. Common to the different versions of the Xhosa cosmogonic myth is the idea that men and animals formerly existed in caverns in the bowels of the earth. At length they are said to have come forth out of this underworld through an immense hole, the opening of which was either in a cavern or else in a marsh overgrown with reeds. (37) Similar ideas are reported for other peoples in Southern Africa. (38) Xhosa oral traditions refer to their place of origin

as Eluhlangeni or umhlanga. Today, this is widely understood as being "the place of reeds"; (39) but it is also the locative form of uhlanga, and this was translated by Nicholson (1858) as "cave" for the Xhosa and Thembu, and "reed" only for the Zulu-speaking people. (40)

Variants of the Zulu cosmogonic narratives describe mankind either as coming forth from the splitting of a reed (41) or as emerging from a bed of reeds. (42) The earliest recorded version linking the Xhosa place of origin with reeds is Holden's in 1866, which suggests that this form of the myth is of Zulu derivation. This is supported by Nicholson's linguistic evidence above. It is possible that the reed myth was the original version shared by both branches of the abeNguni, but that among the Xhosa it was superseded by the cave myth after they came into contact with the Khoisan. It could then have been reintroduced by the Mfengu, the Zulu refugees who settled among the Xhosa from the 1820s on. (43) Nowadays the reed myth is the only version known in the Ciskei.

Alberti recorded one of the earliest versions of the Xhosa cave myth of origin in 1807, claiming to impart it "in the manner in which it is related by the Kaffirs themselves".

> In the land in which the sun rises, there was a cavern from which the first Kaffirs, and in fact All peoples, as also the stock of every kind of animal came forth. At the same time, the sun and moon came into being, to shed their light, and trees, grass and other plants to provide food for man and cattle. (44)

An even earlier version, recorded by the crew of the Stavenisse in 1689, explains the origin of the social life of the Xhosa. It relates that "they deduce their origin from a certain man and woman who grew up together out of the earth, and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer". (45)

According to Mabona, the abantu bomlambo or mythical river people are those who remained in the place of origin when mankind came out of the hole. They are therefore reputed to be very wise and powerful, and are associated with the ancestors. (46)

The idea of man and beast emerging from some sort of subterranean hole or cavern is widespread in Africa south of the Sahara. Indentations on surrounding rocks, whether they be the fossilized tracks of prehistoric animals or the work of wind and water, are believed to be the footprints

of the first men and their animals. (47) Generally the place of origin is said to be either in the north or in the east, depending on the direction from which the people originally migrated, or perhaps linked with the rising of the sun. Xhosa sources are unanimous in speaking of "a cavern in the east", which is called uhlanga. This cosmological association with the east has a ritual significance because traditionally the entrance to the main hut in the homestead faced east, and the chiefs were also buried facing east. (48) These practices continue to this day, with graves being sited on an eastern axis; but the original significance has been forgotten. (49)

Lichtenstein, writing in the early 1800s, reported that the Xhosa still believed that an abundance of cattle could be procured from the cavern if only the entrance could be found. (50) A few years later, Campbell noted that the Xhosa paid an annual tribute to the Tambookies (Thembu) in honour of a tradition that the first oxen had come out of a hole in their country. (51) A more detailed version of the myth linking uhlanga with the cavern in the east was recorded by Ayliff in 1846, and describes how man domesticated cattle. (52) This is another typical "just so" story illustrating the socialization process in a peasant society.

Myths Explaining the Origin of Different Races

The earliest myth which provides an explanation for racial differences was recounted by Robert Balfour Noyi in 1848. According to him, Xhosa "traditionists" were as yet only concerned with the origin and character of three races Hottentot, Xhosa and Bushman. Oral tradition relates :

> A certain man had three sons, whose names were Ibranana, Xosa, and Twa. Ibranana was a keeper of cattle, sheep, and goats, as was also Xosa, while poor Twa was satisfied with his honey-bird and his game in the desert. Ibranana (the ancestor of the Hottentots) was not a tall man, and his complexion was sallow. Twa (the ancestor of the Bushman) was shorter still and more slender, and also of a sallow complexion, but a shade lighter. And Xosa was a tall, muscular man, and dark coloured. (53)

Tiyo Soga collected his material about twenty years later. (54) His informants related that uhlanga was a place with three large holes. The black man emerged from one, the white man from another, and the lower animals from

the third : man coming before the animals. So it was that the advent of the white man was incorporated into Xhosa cosmogony. Tiyo Soga also provides an oral tradition relating how man first domesticated his animals. He then goes on with the "creation" story to explain how the different racial groups acquired their lot in life, showing how the new and strange is made explicable and meaningful in the context of a living myth.

> The oldest son of the father of all was a Hottentot; the second a Kafir; the third a white man. No creature could have been more happily situated than the Hottentot. He revelled in the abundance of his father's riches and luxuries. At length, by reason of the abundance in which he moved, he grew careless, indolent, and utterly regardless. His great amusement was to follow the honey-bird from day to day in search of bee-hives. One day he went out as usual, and never returned to his father, leaving everything behind him. That is the reason given why the Hottentots are such an improvident people.
>
> The second son, the Kafir, took a special liking to cattle, and the herding of them. Cattle ultimately became his inheritance; and when he came of age, he left his father, and set up for himself. That is why the Kafirs are to this day so fond of cattle. The other thing, received from his father, to retain for ever as his inalienable property, was Kafir corn, for which he has a special liking.
>
> While the oldest son, the Hottentot, was pursuing his wandering chase after the honey-bird, and the second son, the Kafir, was following his flocks in the fields, the youngest son, the white man, was always at home with the old man, his father. As the youngest, he was a great favourite. He was constantly in his father's company, waiting upon him, and hearing his wise talk. In this way he became a precocious child. His father poured into his "soft head" all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He told him everything; showed him how to do all things; and thus the white man was far in advance of the other races.

There is a remarkable correspondence between this legend and the story told to Thomas Bain by "a very intelligent old Kafir", at much the same time. (55) Tiyo Soga's son, John Henderson (1930), gives what he says is a modern version of the creation myth, told at the expense of the Hottentot:

> At the creation ... the white man, on whom was expended a good deal of time, was turned out a finished article, so also with the black man : but the end of the week intervened before the Hottentot was completed, and the work was suspended until the following week, when it was found that the clay had hardened. Nothing further could be done, and the Hottentot was left unfinished, as he is to-day, - an incomplete man". (56)

An account "Of the Creation of People" by William Kekale Kaye, "a native interpreter", is undated but was probably written during the same period. Here there is an ingenious attempt to bring Xhosa myth into line with biblical teaching, the second and third chapters of Genesis being presented in a traditional idiom. God becomes the Chief, Satan the cook. Man is created from earth and cloud, while woman is made from a mixture of man's short rib, cloud and moon (the inclusion of moon explaining why women have a regular "monthly illness"). They all live in round grass huts and man tends cattle. The story of the Xhosa Garden of Eden follows the biblical model, the myth of "paradise lost" providing a new explanation for the origin of suffering, illness and death. (57) This must have found echoes for a people whose traditional belief system is explanatory, denying the idea of chance and being preoccupied with the causes of misfortune. What is even more radical, however, is the introduction of the idea of creatio ex nihilo, permitted by the development in the sense of the divine as a transcendent being.

Khoisan Myths of Origin

The information about the Khoisan myths of origin is rather slender; but in 1779 Wikar reported that a number of different Khoi clans on the west coast had a tradition that their cattle came out of a hole in a flat rock, and that there were spoor on the stone to prove it. (58) Stow noted that, according to the cosmogonic myth of the San people

around the lower Gariep, their ancestors came out of a hole in the ground at the roots of an enormous tree together with all kinds of animals. (59) The Khoi are also said to have identified the first ancestor with a certain tree, (60) and it was their custom to pray in the bushes (61). This practice was later adopted by the Xhosa. (62)

The link between cosmogony and the east is well documented among the Khoi; and their custom of facing the doors of their huts and their graves towards the east may well be the origin of the similar customs among the Xhosa. (63) However, the Xhosa do not appear to have followed the Khoi practice of praying facing the east at dawn. (64)

There is another body of Khoi myths that describes the coming forth of the first man and woman from a hole in the sky. (65) Some Khoi maintained that the first people had descended from the sky "in a great basket". (66) The Zulu have a similar tradition; (67) but the one such version among the Xhosa seems to be of Khoi derivation. (68)

Other Traditions

Apart from dealing with the origin of man, most African myths concentrate on the origin of important social and ritual institutions. They explain "the basic conditions of human life as the people now find it". (69) Typical of such myths among the Xhosa are those relating "The origin of the mantis", "A person on the moon" and the "discovery" of pumpkin and kaffircorn. (70) The early written records agree that according to Xhosa myth, "The first parents" were responsible for teaching the people about "agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread". (71)

The modern usage of uhlanga in Xhosa as a nation, race or people was a logical progression from its primary meaning, "the original stem or stock". The development of this derivation can be traced in the oral tradition from 1835 on. (72)

1.2.2 Myths about the Coming of Death
Traditional Xhosa Concepts Relating to Misfortune

The traditional Xhosa belief system is a typical Nature Religion in that it is explanatory, in a closed system of cause and effect : "suffering is linked with wrongdoing and so made meaningful and endurable". (73) Anything which disturbs the harmony has a cause and has to be accounted for. As Hammond-Tooke observes, "one of the

main objects of religious ritual and the resort to divination and protective magic is to restore it [the harmony]". (74)

Although the Xhosa believe that misfortune can be caused either by ritual impurity, the breaking of a taboo, a curse, or even in certain cases is "sent" by the supreme being, it is generally thought of as being caused either by the ancestors or by witchcraft and sorcery. (75) Ancestrally sent misfortune is regarded as being a punishment for wrong-doing, usually for some breach of tradition or custom and is not generally fatal. Witchcraft and sorcery, on the other hand, are both entirely evil and can be the cause of death.

Much has been written about witchcraft and sorcery. (76) Suffice it to say that a witch is the embodiment of evil and is thought to carry out her nefarious work through a familiar or agent of harm. This can take the form of an animal such as a baboon, wildcat or owl : or a mythical being such as a thikoloshe, ichanti, impundulu or zombie. Sorcery is based on the belief that a neutral power resides in certain material substances which can be manipulated for good or evil ends. A herbalist is a person who treats with "medicines" for protection and cure, while a sorcerer manipulates the power in the material substances for harm.

Berglund notes that there are essentially two concepts of death among the Nguni: "Firstly, a timely death which presupposes a number of children and grand- children who survive the deceased. Secondly, there is death which is untimely and is regarded as a serious interference in a human's life." (77) A timely death is expressed as a passing on, a continuance; but an untimely death is described as being a breaking-off of life, and the cause has to be established.

God's Messengers of Death

The explanation of how death originally came into the world is found in the corpus of myths which deal with the primordial separation between man and the supreme being. According to these myths, separation sometimes occurred as a result of man's disobedience in breaking a commandment or as an accident, but the most usual form of the myth is the one found among the Xhosa, which tells of God's messengers of death. (78)

Variations of this myth are found throughout Africa with different animals being cast in the role of the messengers of death. (79) Among the Xhosa it is told as "The Story of the Chameleon and Lizard - Intsomi Yolovane

Nentulo". It looks back to a Golden Age and explains the coming of suffering, illness and death. There are three basic variants to this myth, which probably point to differences in social and religious experience and reflects an ambivalence in conceptualization of deity. In the version recorded from the oral tradition of the amaNgqika branch of the western Xhosa by Nkonki, the loss of paradise is brought about by the spiteful mischief of a lizard and the "Creator" remains in a neutral position. A similar version was recorded among the Khoi in 1779 except that the hare and the bush-tick are the messengers involved. (80)

> Qamata (the supreme being) sent the chameleon to the earth to come and tell the people that they would never die. The chameleon journeyed to the earth and on the way it got tired and had a rest. There came a lizard and it asked where the chameleon was going and the chameleon told it. The lizard ran and told the people that they would die.
>
> There arose a big outcry on the earth, people were crying because they were going to die. The chameleon heard this outcry and then proceeded to the earth to tell the people that there was nothing like that, they would never die. The people never believed the chameleon; they said they had stuck to the word of the lizard. That is why people die. (81)

Tiyo Soga collected a second form of the myth in the 1860s. Here the "Creator" is seen as having the "very best intentions towards the human family", but he is always opposed by "an undefined enemy of man". When he created a bee, the enemy responded with a troublesome fly; similarly a swallow was opposed by a bat, and an eagle by an owl. The owl and the bat are regarded as witches' familiars and are therefore evil beings. In the story of the coming of death, the tardy chameleon sent by the "Creator" is opposed by the swift rock-lizard of the enemy, and the "Creator" is thus outwitted. (82) The idea of a creator of evil things, or satanic figure, is thought to be of Khoi origin and will be discussed later; but Christian influence could also be present here.

The most usual form of myth, which is common to all the Nguni and possibly older than the other two, represents the supreme being, like nature itself, as being unpredictable and undependable. (83) In this version the

"Creator" is seen to change his mind and purposefully sends the swifter lizard to overtake the chameleon.

> The Great Being ... after creating man, sent Unwabi, "the Chameleon", to him, to tell him he should live for ever. After Unwabi's departure, however, the Great Being repented, and sent after him Intulo, "the quick-running salamander, to tell man he must die". Intulo, being swifter, outran Unwabi, and coming to man, delivered his message; but man answered him: "Go thou; we have already accepted the message which Intulo has brought us". "And so it is," says the tradition, "that men die". (84)

Analysing this myth, Ngubane suggests that it symbolizes the right of people to make decisions and to take responsibility for their actions. With regard to the symbolic role of the animals, the lizard, which is greyish-brown in colour, is black in the ritual sense and is the messenger of death. This can be associated with the idea of black "medicines" believed to be used by the sorcerer to harm and even kill his victim. The chameleon is known for its ability to change colour to suit its surroundings and is the animal of deceiving. (85) Both animals are considered unlucky and are even hated. According to Xhosa diviners, the lizard and the chameleon are messengers of the witch sent to kill. (86)

In this myth the supreme being exhibits the same sort of ambivalence which has been shown to be found in the divinities of Nature Religions. He is both benevolent and malevolent, and with it all unpredictable. The Xhosa believe that iNkosi yezulu (the-Lord-of-the-Sky) is beneficient in sending rain to the earth, but he withholds rain if he is angry or irritated and sends lightning which kills. The ritual propitiation of the supreme being in times of drought is one of the rare occasions in which he is approached directly in worship.

Khoisan Myths of Primordial Death

In addition to the myth of the coming of death which involves the hare outwitting the bush-tick or louse, the Khoisan have a body of myths of primordial death which introduces the concept of dualism. There are different versions but they revolve around the death of the chief of the first race of man. This caused the separation of two

shadows or presences of the chief to which is related the dualistic concepts of light and darkness, night and day, sky and earth, male and female, good and evil, and life and death. (87) Khoi mythology is also rich in myths incorporating the theme of resurrection, San mythology less so. In these the supernatural beings and mythical heroes come to life many times after death, as well as resurrecting people thrown into a hole by the evil being. (88)

Amongst the Khoisan people, therefore, the problems of life and death, good and evil, are explained by the various myths, and this is reflected in their burial rites. At death the corpse was taken out through a hole at the back of the hut and then buried. (89) The grave is said to have been considered symbolically as the hole from which man originally emerged; and the various rites, such as facing the corpse east, correspond with this cosmology. Sunrise was regarded as a perpetual resurrection, hence the prayers facing eastward at dawn and other rituals by which the Khoi identified with and participated in the event. (90).

The Xhosa, on the other hand, had no myth of primordial death. They believed that they were immortal, or rather, amortal, i.e. an original total absence of death. This is said to be the reason why they did not bury their dead except for the chiefs, for with no story of primordial death there is no understanding of the first ancestral being returning to the hole of origin. (91) The corpses of commoners were left exposed in the veld to be devoured by beasts of prey, and only the chiefs were buried in the cattle kraal. (92) The burial rites of the chiefs were very similar to those of the Khoi and could well have been incorporated from them at least in part. (93) I will be showing that in the 1810s, Nxele's injunction to the Xhosa to bury all their dead could have been as much the influence of his San wives and Khoi cultural diffusion, as of Christianity. (94) Certainly the resurrection beliefs which were expressed in the new ritual performances found no correspondence in Xhosa mythology.

This evidence lends support to the theory that the gradual incorporation of Khoisan elements into the Xhosa religious tradition, more especially the ritualistic approach to the supreme being, the dualistic concept of good and evil, and the idea of resurrection, prepared the way for Christianity. At the same time, the mythopoeic world views of the Khoisan and Xhosa lacked any sense of eschatology. In the Khoisan system "the resurrections are part of the cosmic process; they are taking place all the time and can be ritually influenced". (95) It was only

with the development of a linear concept of time that it became possible for African thought to conceive of the Christian notion of divine intervention in history and an end to the present order.

1.3 NGUNI PRAISE-NAMES OF THE SUPREME BEING

1.3.1 "The Great Being" and his Praise-names

The traditional concept of the supreme being has been a subject of debate for many years, the argument being that because the Xhosa lacked a clearly defined belief or system of worship, the concept was of alien origin, if present at all. Undoubtedly there is ample evidence to show Khoisan influence, and the idea could well have been introduced through contact with whites prior to the missionaries' coming; but what are regarded as the traditional Xhosa praise-names of deity indicate a concept that pre-dates this cultural interaction. On the other hand, the divine titles only minimally describe the nature and attributes of the supreme being, identifying him as *fons et origo*; and he is typically the background god of a Nature Religion. It was the ancestors, i.e. the spirits of the dead members of the lineage, who were the focus of religious activity in their daily life. The ancestors were thought to be present in an around the homestead, but they were also believed to live in a spirit-world, either below ground or below water, and this can be related to the Xhosa myth of origin.

Whether or not the Xhosa believed in God was a controversial subject from the start of their interaction with whites, the earliest written sources being divided in their opinion. For example, Alberti (1807) insists that they had no concept of a supreme being, (96) while others, like Le Vaillant (1780-85), (97) Damberger (1781-97) (98) and Lichtenstein (1803-6), maintain that they at least believed "in some sort of great being who created the world". (99) Campbell (1813) considers that "even this feeble ray of light" was the result of "intercourse with the Dutch boors [farmers] during several ages". (100) They all agreed, however, that the Xhosa had no religious ceremonies, places of worship or priests, as understood in Christianity. Rose (1829) sums up the prevailing white attitude when he says that they did not appear to possess religion; but only "some wild idea of a Being that breathes his anger in the thunder, and in the famine that follows drought". (101) Barrow obtained more explicit information when he questioned Ngqika, the Rharhabe paramount chief, in 1798:

> The king being asked if they had any belief in a supernatural power, and, if so, what were their notions concerning it? replied, that they believed in the existence of some invisible power that sometimes brought good and sometimes evil upon them; it was this power that caused men to die suddenly, or before they arrived at years of maturity; that raised the wind, and made thunder and lightning to frighten, and sometimes, kill them; that led the sun across the world in the day, and the moon by night; and that made all those things which they could not understand nor imitate. (102)

Vanderkemp, who was the first missionary among the Xhosa, from 1799 to 1800, is widely quoted as saying that the Xhosa had no word in their language "to express the deity" and that they had borrowed the name Tuikwa or Thiko (Thixo) from the Hottentots. His observations will be discussed later but they give some indication of the extent of Khoi influence at this stage. (103)

Although most of these early writers established that the Xhosa had some notion of "a great Being", who was associated with origin and who manifested awesome power, their failure to ascertain any of the praise-names of the supreme being is not surprising in that reverence for the name of deity made casual mention of it taboo. (104) I suggest that it was only as a result of missionary influence during the early part of the nineteenth century that this tradition changed.

In the African tradition eulogies of important people take the form of praise-poetry or izibongo, and "the different praises of a chief are frequently used as variations for his name". (105) The praises are characterized by highly figurative language because praise of a person "is not something to be expressed in bold or straightforward language". (106) Rather, wide use is made of allusion and imagery, more especially metaphor. (107) Among the Nguni the God-names are similarly construed, each praise-name being descriptive of some particular characteristic which one wishes to emphasize when using the praise-name". (108)

The God-names are discussed under separate headings, the first group being those that are common to both Xhosa and Zulu-speaking people (Cape Nguni and Northern Nguni). Even though the earliest information is taken from nineteenth century sources, the informants were often said

to be very old and "they merely repeated what they had been told by "their old people", parents and grandparents", so that the chain of tradition could lead a hundred or more years back. (109) The fact that the two different branches of the Nguni used identical praise-names, that these praise-names were reported by a number of authorities to be well-established in their respective areas, that they were associated with the same attributes of the supreme being in each case, and that they were not associated with any Khoisan God-names, seems to be sufficient evidence to show that they date from before the time the Xhosa broke away from their parent Nguni body. In other words, they are traditional praise-names of the Nguni which at the least pre-date Khoisan and missionary influence, and could well be of ancient origin. Comparative evidence from various other African societies supports this view as it shows that other indigenous people have similar traditional praise-names of deity and these are also thought to be of ancient origin. (110)

1.3.2 uDali, uMdali and uMenzi

uDali, uMdali and uMenzi are used by both the Xhosa and the Zulu to refer to origin and creation. In Xhosa, uDali and uMdali are derived from ukudala, to make, bring into existence, create, ordain, appoint; and mean the creator, moulder, maker. (111) The difference between these two praise-names is that uDali is only used to refer to deity, while uMdali has a wider meaning. (112) uMenzi is from ukwenza, to make, act, bring a thing to pass; and means worker, doer, the maker of all things, the one who brings things about. (113)

Shaw (1860), (114) Holden (1866) (115) and J.H. Soga (c 1931) (116) provide evidence from the oral tradition to show that the praise-names uMdali and uMenzi date back to antiquity, while Döhne (1844) (117) maintains that they were introduced by the missionaries. Kay (1833) notes that these were also traditional God-names used by the Mpondo. (118) But Hunter (Monica Wilson), who made an anthropological study of these people a hundred years later, contends that although these two names might support a belief in a creator, the absence of any system of rites or complex of beliefs indicates that the idea of a supreme being is altogether foreign to Xhosa tradition. (119)

uMdali and uMenzi have the same derivations and meanings as praise-names of the supreme being in Zulu as they do in Xhosa, i.e. Creator and Maker; (120) and again there is some disagreement as to their location in time,

with the weight of opinion decidedly in favour of their being traditional Zulu God-names. (121) Berglund confirms that they are common God-names which traditionalist Zulu use to this day. (122)

Recent research among the Xhosa has shown that while uMdali and uMenzi may still be linked to the concept of a creator, nowadays these words are equally applicable to human capacities and are commonly used as such in ordinary speech. (123) Be that as it may, contemporary Xhosa insist that ukudala is an activity performed by God alone ; (124) and there is similar evidence for the Zulu. (125)

Comparative evidence provided by Mbiti in a survey of nearly three hundred African societies indicates "that practically all African people consider God as creator, making this the commonest attribute of the works or activities of God". (126) An historical dimension is provided by Livingstone, who found in his travels in Southern and South-Central Africa in the 1850s that the indigenous people generally believed in "one maker of heaven and earth", and named him as their creator. (127)

1.3.3 uHlanga

Another praise-name associated with origin is uHlanga. It is linked with the cosmogonic myth concerning uhlanga, the cavern in the east, the source of life. (128) Of interest in this connection is the information which Callaway obtained on a journey through Kaffraria in 1875. He reports that, when "an educated, intelligent native" of the Ngqika was asked about the origin of things before the missionaries came, he replied: "Inyange ka'Nyange is Uhlanga. Uhlanga sprang from Uhlanga (ohlangeni). He came out of a hole." (129) amaNyange means the people of old, ancestors. (130) Callaway translates it as a Great-Great-Grandfather and says that it is equivalent to the Zulu Unkulunkulu. (131) Inyange ka'nyange is said to mean the Great-Great-Grandfather of the Great-Great-Grandfather, so referring the act of creation to a far remote ancestor and intending to carry creation as far back as possible from the present. The idea of uHlanga issuing out of uHlanga is readily understood in terms of the myth.

Sawyerr uses West African material to support his thesis that because God is the source of man's life he is therefore his Ancestor. (132) Some early Xhosa sources agree with this view, although the supposition hinges on semantics and is debatable. Kay (1833) (133) gives an account of Xhosa genealogy which names uHlanga or Thlanga

as the oldest of their kings, by whose name they always swore in former days: a custom which obtained universally in the interior, according to Moffat. (134) At the same time, Kay reported that the Kaffrarian people appeared to acknowledge a divine power as being the maker of the world and the disposer of all events, whom they called uHlanga, the Great Spirit. However, their ideas were said to be faint and confused, with "no conception of any deity but what was corporeal". (135) There was no understanding of Spirit in the Christian sense.

Bennie (1822) attempts to link uHlanga with langa, the sun. (136) But there is no evidence for such a linguistic derivation, neither is the sun personified by the Xhosa as a divinity as with some African societies, (137) nor did they pray to it like the San. (138)

Although the praise-name uHlanga was generally associated with deity as being located in the underworld, this term also referred to a power coming from the above which manifested itself in the elements. (139) So for example, Brownlee (1827) observed that the Xhosa "conceive that thunder proceeds from the direct operation of Deity; and if a person is killed by lightning they say that God (Uhlanga) has been amongst them". (140)

The Zulu evidence is that although uHlanga (Uthlanga) was used by some to mean a reed, so linking it with the origin of all things, and others spoke of it as the place out of which all things came, the majority gave it a personal signification, associating it with the Zulu idea of the Creator. (141) Berglund found that the Zulu still use uHlanga as a praise-name of the supreme being. (142)

Mbiti provides comparable God-names in other African societies. Of particular interest is the fact that the Ngoni of Malawi use Uluhlanga to mean "the Original Source"; (143) and this was recorded as early as 1857 by Döhne. (144)

1.3.4 iNkosi yezulu

Traditional Xhosa thought-patterns about the above indicate that the supreme being was closely associated with the sky, just as in classical mythological thought, and was sometimes even called the sky, iZulu. (145) All the awesome and more dangerous aspects of nature, such as drought, thunder, lightning, hail, violent rain and wind, were attributed to the supreme being and were often personified by iZulu. Comparative material drawn from other African societies shows that this is one of the most common conceptualizations of deity. (146) When lightning

strikes a person the Xhosa say "izulu limthabathile" ("the sky has taken him"), (147) or "watatyatwa lizulu" ("he was taken by heaven"). (148) Izulu liyaduduma literally means "the heaven thunders". (149)

Lightning was also conceived as a bird, impundulu or intakezulu, the bird of heaven, which was dazzling in the brilliance of its different colours. Thunder was the beating of its wings. (150) Ideas about the mythical lightning-bird are rich and varied, and are a feature of Xhosa folk-lore. (151) The bird was also supposed to be used in witchcraft as a familiar. Certain women were believed to have received an impundulu from an ancestor, with which they could harm others. (152) Impundulu was greatly feared too as a messenger of death of the supreme being. (153)

Lightning was also sometimes referred to as Inkosi (Shaw 1860), (154) a term denoting respect and authority which was formerly restricted to chiefs of royal blood; (155) Inkosi Enkulu (iNkosi Enkhulu) (Döhne 1844), Great Chief, (156) and Inkosi Yezulu (Hunter 1936), Chief or Lord-of-the-Sky. (157) This explains Warner's (1858) misconception that lightning was traditionally thought of as being governed by "the ghost of the greatest and most renowned of their departed Chiefs". (158)

An old custom is for everybody to sit down quietly when there is thunder and lightning as it is believed that iNkosi yezulu is speaking. (159) Again when someone is struck by lightning the Xhosa say : "ufekethelwe yiNkosi" or "udlalwe yiNkosi", which both mean "the Lord has played with him", (160) or else they say "the Lord is angry". The Khoi also spoke of a Great Chief in the sky, and lightning and thunder were said to be manifestations of his anger. (161)

Hunter's finding among the Mpondo in the 1930s were that iNkosi yezulu was "only an ukuhlonipha, a polite mode of reference to something that is feared"; and again she failed to find any system of belief or practices associated with this praise-name. (162)However, Berglund's work on the Zulu concept of the Lord-of-the-Sky later convinced her that the Nguni had a traditional belief in the supreme being, albeit shadowy. (163)

There is a large body of material on Zulu notions of iNkosi yezulu, past and present. Colenso (1855) gives one of the earliest references, (164) while Callaway (1870) devotes a whole section to the subject, (165) showing that the association with thunder and lightning is the same as in the Xhosa tradition. Wanger analyses the evidence to show the great age of this praise-name. Further proof is

deduced from the fact that "the Zulus take their most solemn oath by "the Lord in Heaven", more solemn even than that by the living king". (166) Nowadays, power over lightning and hail is ascribed to the witch (umthakathi). But the older traditional belief in the "Lord in Heaven" persists; and when someone is killed by lightning both powers are held to blame without any apparent attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies involved. Some people believe that a person struck by lightning has been punished by the Lord for wrongdoing, while others consider it a distinction to be "taken" by him in this way. (167)

Berglund gives a comprehensive description of present-day Zulu concepts of the Lord-of-the-Sky, the numerous correspondences between contemporary and earlier evidence testifying to deeply rooted traditions. (168) Comparative evidence from the African societies examined by Mbiti shows that practically all African people "associate God with the heavens, sky or firmament, in one way or another". (169)

The rituals associated with iNkosi yezulu all have to do with his manifestation in the form of lightning. Vanderkemp (1799-1801) provides the earliest written evidence among the Xhosa. He was told the strange story of a man dressed in green who was supposed to be seen in Xhosa kraals during violent thunderstorms. The man would lean against a tree stump with his eyes fixed on the ground, would refuse all hospitality and would seldom speak. But once he was heard to say : "Do not be afraid, I only play with this country!" The Xhosa called him "the Lord from above, Pezoulo [Phezulu]". His appearance was the signal for people to desert their kraals, leaving everything behind. They then slew some beasts and put on new clothes. (170)

Anything which was struck by lightning, whether man, beast or dwelling, was considered to have become impure and it became obligatory to summon the traditional doctor to treat the object or person ritually with medicine of purification. Uncleanness is evidence of disorder; hence the order must be restored. One way of doing this is to purify with medicines and another is to abstain from taking certain foods or to fast (ukuzila). (171) According to present-day beliefs, someone struck by lightning is thought to have been affected by power, and the doctoring by the iqqirha is to get the power out of him so as to protect him from being struck again. Failure to be treated is said to lead to death. (172)

Brownlee (1858) records that because lightning was regarded as the direct operation of the supreme being, the

object or person struck was considered as having been directly appropriated to himself. Heaven had taken its own, and it was therefore wrong to murmur or complain and there was no mourning or lamentation. Instead, after the purification, there was a ritual killing accompanied by "dancing and rejoicing" to propitiate the supreme being, iZulu. Brownlee further notes that a whole burnt offering was occasionally sacrificed at this ritual by the paramount chief's rain doctor. He is adament that this sacrifice was directed to the supreme being and not the ancestor spirits, as was the usual practice. (173) His evidence gains credibility by being corroborated by other informants.

Shaw (1860), for one, observes that the ritual killing following a person's death by lightning was the only occasion on which a sacrifice was offered to iNkosi. This was said to take place rather frequently during the summer months in Kaffraria, which of course is in the summer rainfall region. Shaw also notes that there were none of the usual mourning observances because it would be "a sign of disloyalty to lament for one whom the Inkosi had sent for; and it would cause him to punish them by making the lightning again descend and do them another injury". (174) Callaway records similar beliefs and practices among the Zulu. (175)

According to Brownlee, the fines paid for the non-observance of the customs in connection with the striking of lightning went to the chief. The kraal was deserted, the huts were allowed to fall down, and the kraal might not be used for fuel, though a scarcity of wood might exist. Animals killed by lightning were buried on the spot where they were struck, not in the nature of a whole offering because "the fire of heaven" had already been upon them, as Brownlee suggests, but because they were regarded as being contaminated. (176) Again there are similar ideas among the Zulu. (177)

The other references to ritual killings being directed to the supreme being differ somewhat in detail but they nonetheless show that such a sacrifice undoubtedly took place, which disputes the assertion that no rituals were directed to the worship of the supreme being. I of course use the word worship in the broader sense for all relationship with deity, which might manifest on different occasions as invocation, appeasement, restoration of harmonious relationship, as well as the simple expression of adoration.

Döhne (1844) was told by the old people that because iNkosi Enkulu manifested his wrath with them by killing men or cattle with his lightning, he had to be appeased with a

sacrifice so that he would not send down his wrath again on that same place. A special cow was slaughtered and immolated, and they would say, "Heaven has eaten her". (178) This is confirmed by Bokwe (1881). (179) According to Rose (1829), when a kraal was struck by lightning, the site was either deserted, or an ox burned on the spot, or buried beneath it, as an offering to uHlanga, the spirit of thunder. (180) Lichtenstein (1812) relates that if this misfortune should happen to the "king's" kraal, a hundred oxen had to be slain, and all left there. Anyone could come and take away the meat, the rest being left to the hyenas. (181)

J.H. Soga gives a detailed description of the "purification ritual" followed when someone was killed by lightning, and of the burial procedure, including the use of protective medicine. Special measures were also taken during a severe thunderstorm to prevent lightning from striking. This involved the head of the homestead stabbing the air with an assegai and spitting medicine in the direction of the storm. This was a symbolic ritual intended to kill the impundulu and so prevent it from reaching the ground. (182) Wanger (183) and Berglund (184) have collected comparable Zulu material which contains many of the old traditions.

1.3.5 Cosmology

Even though the supreme power was located in the above, this did not necessarily mean high above. In traditional thinking there was little sense of a spatial dimension for heaven: it was thought to be a place in the sky not far above the clouds; (185) and without a radical gap between the background god and the realm of heaven there is no need to conceptualize heaven as remote, as an expression of the transcendence of the divine being.

The Xhosa gave scant thought to cosmology. The heavenly bodies did not intrude in their lives as did thunder and lightning, and so did not require the same sort of explanation. This is in marked contrast to the Khoisan for whom the heavenly bodies, and especially the moon, were central in worship. (186) The Xhosa only took note of a few prominent stars, the Milky Way, the sun and the moon. They were given expressive names but there was no speculation about their nature or their movement, nor were they personified. According to J.H. Soga, the moon was an enigma to the Xhosa. A popular belief was that a fresh moon made its appearance with each and every rising, the old one ceasing to exist when it set. It was thought that

the horizon of the sea was the boundary of the world, and that a huge heap of moons was stored in a vast pit beyond the horizon ready for use. (187) There seems to be an association here with the cosmogonic myth.

The Xhosa year revolved around the agricultural cycle and the stars derived their only significance from being linked with certain daily and seasonal events in this cycle. So, for example, the evening star was associated with milking time. (188) The Pleiades, iSilimela, were the exception in having a metaphysical association and this may well be due to Khoi influence, but there was no comparable religious ritual. (189)

iSilimela is derived from ukulima which means "to hoe in seed, to dig, plough, cultivate". (190) The first appearance of the Pleiades above the eastern horizon at dawn each year signalled the start of the cultivation season, hence the name the "digging-for" stars. This coincided with the month of June, named eyeSilimela, and heralded the beginning of the Xhosa new year. Besides the symbolic link with the earth as the source of new life, iSilimela also symbolized new life in man for the time of the coming-out ceremony of the abakwetha (circumcision) school was determined by the appearance of this constellation. It has always been the custom for Xhosa men to count their years of manhood from this date. (191) While the correspondence between social and cosmic events can be regarded at one level as a simple system of indicating the passage of time, at a deeper level it can be seen as a means whereby the Xhosa entered into the rhythm of nature and so experienced the divine.

1.3.6 Other Praise-Names

Callaway collected a number of other traditional Xhosa praise-names of the supreme being during his travels through Kaffraria in 1875. (192) His orthography is outdated and his spelling and grammatical construction seem strange today. The one which he calls umVelatangi is generally known as uMvelingangi. This praise-name has an important connection with the "creation narratives" of the Zulu and is possibly of Zulu origin. (193) It is derived from ukuvela, to come forth from, to originate; and ngangi, first in point of time. Among the Xhosa it is used to mean the first-born, the original creator who produced existing things. (194)

The God-name uNkulunkulu is derived from kulu meaning great, big, much, large, (195) and is generally understood to mean "the Great-Great One", "the Greatest". (196)

According to Callaway, the Xhosa who used this praise-name belonged to "the northern Kafir tribes", i.e. those nearest to the Zulu-speaking people. Thus among the Mpondo one tradition held that Ukulukulu (uNkulunkulu) "moulded the first men". Another said : "Uhlanga delivered the great message of morality to Ukulukulu; Ukulukulu made Uhlanga (also) that it may create (dabula) all things." When Callaway asked how it was that Ukulukulu should receive the great messages from Uhlanga, if Uhlanga was made by him, he was told : "Ukulukulu sprang from Uhlanga, and then made another Uhlanga that it might create all things." (197) Callaway maintains that the confusion in such statements is only apparent; and is better understood in relation to the cosmogonic myth. (198)

Wanger provides substantial evidence to show that uNkulunkulu is not only a traditional God-name of the Xhosa, but that its connotations are substantially the same as that of the Zulu. (199) Berglund argues that this praise-name is applicable to both the Lord-of-the-Sky and, in its plural form, to the ancestors. Moreover, it can even apply to an old person. But although the term uNkulunkulu is of ancient origin, he believes iNkosi yezulu to be even older. (200)

A more obscure God-name is Umz'omzima (Umz'onzima) which appears to be linked with Mz'anzima, a praise-name of the supreme being collected by Callaway among the Mpondo. (201) umZi is a group of huts belonging to a single owner, dwelling or village, (202) while nzima has the connotation of heaviness, weight, importance. (203) Callaway gives the meaning of Mz'anzima as "Thou Great Dwelling Place" and says that it was used widely among the Xhosa. Explaining its metaphorical associations, he says "they will often salute a great man, in whom they trust, by the title Mzi wetu, our village or dwelling place". The literal meaning of nzima is weighty, heavy; but here it implies solid, full of satisfaction and joy. "When a chief leaves his village, they say that without him it is light, that is, without stability or comfort. When he returns they say, the village is heavy, that is, established and full of satisfaction". Callaway concludes by comparing the figurative title, "Great Dwelling Place", with "the words of the old Hebrew, Thou art our dwelling place in all generations; or again, Be Thou my strong habitation whereunto I may resort". (204)

Callaway refers to a number of other God-names of the Mpondo which are all "expressive of antiquity and creation"; but the only other one he specifically mentions is Utabu, which he said had been displaced by the

missionary use of Thixo. No meaning is offered but it may be linked with ntaba, a mountain, which can be used to denote something standing alone. A mountain is also a popular image in the praises of a chief. (205) Utabu was invoked when someone sneezed as was the case with Thixo or Qamata. Callaway was given a song invoking Utabu as well as a prayer : "Oh Tabu, we pray that we may have prosperity on the earth; Thou Great Dwelling Place". (206)

Pahl comments on the remarkable gift which the Xhosa have for bestowing praise-names upon people, based on circumstances or characteristics. Consequently, many names have been bestowed upon God over the years by Christian Xhosa, e.g. uSomandla, the Almighty, uSonini-nanini, He who is from Everlasting, etc., and the ones coined by Ntsikana such as uHlathi lenyaniso, the Forest of Truth, uKhaka lenyaniso, the shield of Truth, and Sifuba-sibanzi, Broad-Breast, for Christ. The list of old and new God-names numbers nearly sixty and is by no means exhausted. (207)

1.4 KHOISAN INFLUENCE ON THE XHOSA CONCEPT OF THE SUPREME BEING QAMATA

1.4.1 The "borrowing" of God-names from the Khoisan

The "borrowing" of words is an indication of a diffusion of ideas between cultures. It can shed light on the nature of their interaction and give insight into changes that have taken place in their religious history. (208) As already noted, a comparative analysis of Khoi and Xhosa linguistic relationships shows that their interaction was of long duration. Harinck observes that the Khoi words "borrowed" by Xhosa are significant from an historian's point of view because they not only provide topographical information, but also point to socio-economic relationships between the two peoples. He singles out the groups of words relating to cattle and religion to show the numerous semantic correspondences of Khoi terms in the Xhosa language. At the same time he observes, "the Xhosa retained many Bantu forms for all religious institutions and ritual practices also denoted by Khoi "borrowings", which indicates that these institutions and practices existed prior to contact with Khoi, and were not wholly adopted from Khoi culture". (209) The study of Xhosa praise-names of the supreme being are of particular interest in this respect.

As we have seen, the terms uMdali, uMenzi, iNkosi yezulu, uMvelinggangi and uNkulunkulu were commonly found

among both branches of the Nguni, the Zulu-speaking as well as the Xhosa-speaking people. We have argued, therefore, that these traditional God-names date from before the time the Xhosa broke away from the parent Nguni body and could well be of ancient origin. Comparative evidence from other African societies strengthens this view. On the other hand, in pre-Christian times the Northern Nguni or Zulu-speaking people did not identify with the God-names Qamata and Thixo (Tixo). These terms were clearly adopted by the Xhosa after they branched off and moved into Transkei and Ciskei.

Many Xhosa regard Qamata and Thixo as designations of their own, (210) but the implosive consonants or "clicks" indicate their Khoisan origin. It is not possible to date the time at which these God-names were incorporated into Xhosa religion, but the evidence points to Qamata pre-dating Thixo by a considerable period. The Xhosa claim that the name Qamata is of ancient origin and that Thixo only came into common usage at the turn of the nineteenth century. This development in tradition would correspond with their socio-cultual experience. The derivation and meaning of the word Qamata is unknown but it could be either of San origin, or else a mixture of Khoi and San as there was a considerable blending of beliefs among these peoples. The uncertainty about the "borrowing" of this God-name from the Khoisan reflects the speculative nature of the history concerning the interaction between the Xhosa and the Khoisan during the early part of the Xhosa expansion, which could well have extended over a couple of centuries. Whereas Thixo is unquestionably derived from Tsui//Goab, the name of the great national hero of the Khoi who is generally regarded as their supreme deity. A more intensive interaction between the Xhosa and the Khoi during the latter part of the eighteenth century, together with missionary influence in adopting Thixo as the name of the Christian God in the early nineteenth century, explains why Thixo gradually superseded Qamata in religious usage among the Xhosa. (211)

1.4.2 Qamata : Theories of Origin

The word Qamata does not appear in any written sources before 1855 and then it is only associated with a mountain. In the 1870s both Callaway and Theal commented on the fact "that it was a name almost universally unknown to white men, and entirely so to white missionaries". (212) The reason for this, according to the Xhosa, was that the name was too sacred to be used freely, so exhibiting the same

sort of reluctance to utter the divine name as the ancient Hebrews showed. (213) Oral tradition is unanimous in agreeing that it was the name of the supreme being in olden times, before the Xhosa moved into their present country, but its origin has been lost in antiquity. Nkonki gives the tradition of the amaNgqika:

> Long, long ago the Xhosa worshipped Qamata. His name was on their tongues. Even during the time of Tshiwo (late seventeenth century?) and even before then Qamata was worshipped by them. They did this before the races arrived who came with Thixo.
>
> Qamata's name used never to be mentioned in vain. It was sacred because it was the name of the One who was believed to be the Giver of blessings, the Protector, the Receiver of offerings and Giver of luck.
>
> He was a god in heaven. Because of that the sky was a revered place. Never would a finger be pointed at it. If someone wished to point at something in the sky, he did that by means of a bent index finger or fist....
>
> The origin of the knowledge of this Supreme Being, like all mythical information, is the ancients. Even with them Qamata belonged to the sphere of living which was regarded as being outside the probing intelligence of man. So too much inquiry about Him was checked by the elderly people.
>
> Qamata used to be the only name for this Supreme Being. The other appellations have been taken from other tribes such as Nkulunkulu of the Zulu. Thixo was introduced by the missionaries. This popular name for God was taken by the earliest missionaries from the Hottentots (amaLawu) ... After giving the missionaries the term Thixo, the Hottentots then acted as interpreters. So this appellation for God was the Xhosa interpretation of the word the Hottentos gave for God. (214)

In traditional Xhosa society it was considered disrespectful even to point a finger at an elderly person, or at an ancestor's grave, let alone at the sky which was the dwelling place of Qamata. Recent field research has shown that this taboo concerning Qamata is still widely

held to-day. (215)

The origin of the word Qamata has been a matter of much speculation. Maingard suggests that it is probably "the designation of some eponymous hero, with supernatural powers", comparable with Thixo alias Tsui//Goab, of the Khoi. (216) Similarly Kidd surmises that Qamata was once either a powerful chief or some semi-supernatural being. He adds that some Xhosa say that he had only one leg, an idea clearly borrowed from the Khoi legend about Tsui//Goab. (217) A striking dome-like mountain in the St. Mark's district in Transkei is called eQamata; (218) and the Rev. H.T. Waters, who founded the Anglican mission there in 1855, says that it was supposed to be named after "an old Hottentot chief". (219) Without doubt there is an early association of the name Qamata with the Khoisan of that area.

A linguistic analysis must of necessity be speculative. Mabona argues for the Khoi derivation of Qamata on the basis of linguistic evidence given by Hahn. The Khoisan group as a whole are said to express the ancestor god as stone, while one Khoi group called the first being by the word for sky (/homi), which is interchangeable with the word for stone or mountain (!homi or qhomi). (220) These terms can be linked with the word qho-ab, which denotes a single conical granite hill and is a geological feature of the mid-Angolan highlands and parts of Namibia. (221) Mabona claims that the term Qhomab would mean "of stone" and that this is close to the Nguni idea of the god who is beyond the blue stone vault, which is the Nguni conception of the sky. (222) The designation of a conical mountain in Transkei as eQamata seems to support this theory.

Another suggestion is that there is a connection between Qamata and the Khoi deity mentioned by Buttner in 1716 as Mathee, possibly derived from "ma te" ("give me"). (223) A plausible link can be established too with the San names for the supreme being derived from //Gaua, who was conceived both as the ghosts of the dead and as a personified being. The main problem is that the early records of San beliefs on which I have drawn are vague, inconsistent and quite inadequate for a thorough discussion.

Among the Heikum of Etosha Pan, //Gamab was spoken of as the creator who received the souls of the dead. He made thunder and lightning, the stars were his fire, and he killed people by means of shooting stars. The San believed that people killed by lightning changed into stars. //Gamab was found among the Heikum of north-east Ondonga

under the form Xamaba. He was conceived of as the supreme being who made all things, including mankind, received the souls of the dead into his home in the sky, and sent rain. He had no wife and no children, was regarded as benevolent and good, but appeared to have no connection with the moral life of the people. He was prayed to for rain, before and after hunting, before a journey was undertaken, and in case of illness. He could be spoken to by the "magician" and was thought to inflict illness upon people whom he did not like. The Bergdama had similar ideas about //Gamab. The name was said to be derived from //gama, water. This was the only supernatural being spoken of by these people and he was regarded as the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc. He was also associated with a sky dwelling to which went the souls of the departed. (224)

Schapera believes that there is a connection between //Gaua of the San and //Gaunab of the Khoi. In Khoi mythology //Gaunab is in conflict with Tsui//Goab, who is described as their "raingod". Under missionary influence //Gaunab assumed the role of the devil as did //Gamab among the San, and it is difficult to discover how he was originally conceived. But this may be an example of an original nature deity being both creator and destroyer, which aspects tend to remain in the same deity when the people are under pressure and need to direct malevolence against their enemies and benevolence towards themselves. In a more settled situation these aspects tend to get separated out as experience tends to be harmonious except at its boundaries. Hahn derives //Gaunab from //gau, meaning to destroy, annihilate. This supernatural being was seen as the cause of sickness and death, was intimately linked with the ghosts of the dead, was appeased by sacrificial offerings, and stood in close contact with the "magicians". (225)

The connection between //Gaua and its various forms among the north-western San, and Qamata of the Xhosa, may seem far-fetched considering that they lived on opposite sides of the continent; but who knows that this may be evidence of closer contact in earlier ages, or of a similar group living nearer to the Xhosa. The Khoi may also have been the connecting link in diffusing ideas. Added to which there is the evidence cited above which suggests a direct link between the word ghomi of the Khoi and Qamata. Schapera stresses linguistic evidence indicating extensive borrowing of religious ideas between the different Khoi and San groups, as well as between the Khoisan and the Xhosa.

Summing up it can be said that the name Qamata is definitely of Khoisan origin; and considering that the

orthographies of the different Khoisan languages were in their infancy when the relevant material was first collected, the linguistic correlations that have been discussed seem significant. Moreover, it can be shown that there is some similarity in the ideas associated with these names.

1.4.3 Xhosa Beliefs concerning Qamata

According to information obtained in 1880 from an old Xhosa named Juju, who belonged to the Ndlambe chiefdom of the Rharhabe, his people "considered that Qamata was the great spirit, greater even than the spirits of our chiefs, as he, in our opinion, made the chiefs". Juju added that they "did not often think about these things". (226) This supports Theal's findings made a few years earlier when he consulted a group of aged Ngika, one of whom was "a celebrated native antiquary". Theal reported that "the Kaffirs cannot define their belief concerning Qamata very minutely, and they do not trouble themselves with thinking much about the matter". This, of course, as I have said earlier, is typical of Nature Religion in a settled situation with its emphasis on the texture of the immediate. In reply to his questioning, these old Xhosa were positive in saying "the Qamata was never a man". He had never been a chief, nor was he the first man, the father of the nations, similar "to the one the old Fingoes (Mfengu) called Nkulunkulu". (227) But they were extremely vague about his attributes. They could only say that he was greater than all creation, that he was everywhere and was thought to see all things, that he was sometimes asked to help people and was believed to respond, that he was thought to be altogether good though there was some uncertainty about this, and that there was none other like him, "he is all alone". (228) Callaway's Ngqika informant in British Kaffraria was more forthcoming. After affirming that Ukqamata (Callaway's spelling) was an ancient name among his people for God, he went on to say:

> The Ancients said Ukqamata was something perfect, who could do things which men could not do. They spoke as though there was a power above them with the nature of which they were unacquainted. They said nothing about his origin or his mode of being. They did not say he gave them rain; but if there was a drought and the inspired priests (Amaggirha) (229) were unable to produce rain, they said,

> "It is Ukqamata's", by which they meant to say, that it is his power to cause rain. So if a man was ill, and they had no hope of his recovery, they said, "It is now in Ukqamata's" hands". Or if a man had escaped from danger, they said, "Ukqamata" saved him". Or if they were about to make a king, they said, "May he be elected by Ukqamata." (230)

A number of other sources agree that the name of Qamata was involved in times of distress. A man in danger would say, "O! Qamata ndincede! - oh! Qamata help me!" and when the danger was over he would attribute his deliverance to the supreme being. (231) When men were going to the chief, they would say, "It is thine, Qamata" by which they meant : "We shall have all things managed for us by thee." (232) Kropf maintains that the praise-name was most commonly used as an expressive utterance, such as "Secukokuha - Qamata! ("Qamata knows!") or "uQamata makakukangele ("May Qamata look graciously upon thee!") which is said to a sick person. (233) They also used the name in the form of an exclamation, "Qamata!" when taken by surprise, and when sneezing. (234) When a person sneezed it was the custom to say "God help me, and give me strength. Maker of all things look upon me". (235)

For Homer, the sneeze is the most violent form of unpremediated, uncontrolled bodily action and in that sense has a quality of ecstasy. It suggests vulnerability or a disturbance at the very part where life is most clearly symbolized : in breath, in body fluid, head and chest. The connection between sneezing, the divine and the "soul" is widespread and very ancient. In Xhosa thought-patterns, frequent sneezing and yawning are regarded as preliminary signs of the ancestors' activities in a person who is being called as a diviner and sneezing during the process of divination is considered a sign that the ancestor spirits are present. Sneezing can also be regarded as a blessing, and sneezing in a child is a sign of health. (236) Information about the nature of Qamata was given to Callaway by a Ngqika living near St. John's river. According to oral tradition :

> They said Ukqamata is a living Spirit (using here not the word Umoya, wind, which the missionaries have introduced for Spirit, but Ukqitela). They said Ukqamata is a living Spirit; but they know not where it dwells; and if asked where it dwells, would answer, "It

> goes beside me; and yet I see it not." And they said, Spirits go out of men to go to Ukqamata, to the place where they dwell with him. But, though they said this, they know not where the place is. The corpse does not go to Ukqamata; it is the spirit only which goes to him; the corpse remains in the earth. (237)

Callaway was of the opinion that some of these statements were the result of contact with European teachers in some form or other. But, as we have seen, the idea of the soul of the departed being received into the sky dwelling of the supreme being was a common San belief, and seems an equally likely source of influence considering that the word ukuqqitela, meaning to pass on, to pass over to, (238) was used and not umoya. Traditionally umoya is air and wind; and was taken over by the missionaries "as a translation for Biblical concepts of soul, spirit and spirituality in man and of the Holy Spirit". (239) However, whether the ideas came from San or European, the question is why did they become important to these people now; and undoubtedly this is as a result of the disturbance of their previously settled harmonious life experience. If they are San ideas then almost certainly the disturbance involved was their own geographical and cultural migration. If the European, then the disturbance could be the western incursion.

Hirst's findings are that nowadays, diviners (amaqqirha) talk about Qamata as being the wind. He is everywhere. He brings the rain which makes the plants grow, providing sustenance for man and beast. He is said to have brought everything into being, the earth, the ancestors, man, animals and plants. But to him all life is one thing. He does not distinguish between the different forms, hence his remoteness. Because he is so impersonal it is no good going to him to redress your wrongs. The ancestors are different, they are your family and can be manipulated. (240)

1.5 THE WORSHIP OF QAMATA

1.5.1 Ritual Supplication in Times of National Crisis

The problem of evaluating the material on the worship of Qamata is that despite the fact that this God-name is apparently associated with a long-standing tradition, the earliest written references are in the 1870s. In some cases the ritual tradition that has been handed down has clearly been influenced by missionary teaching and

practice, even though this may be denied, while the present-day ritual which I recorded, of calling on Qamata for rain, purposefully blends traditional and Christian practices so as to appeal to all groups. Nonetheless, although there was no extensive cult of Qamata, there is evidence to show that he was approached in times of national crisis such as war, drought and epidemic disease of men and their animals.

Those at the top of the social order were thought to be closest to Qamata and so it was the chief, councillors, elders and, more rarely, the homestead head, who were the mediators. Juju, whose father Pantsi had been circumcized the same year as Rharhabe, was one of this Xhosa chief's councillors and had crossed over the Kei River with him some time around 1770, relates the following tradition:

> In times of great national trouble we were called together by our chiefs to intercede with Qamata. The order observed on these occasions was as follows: When all the principal men of the tribe had at the chief's bidding assembled at the Great Place, a ring would be formed of the men all sitting in silence with their faces to the ground. Then one of the youngest councillors would rise, and looking upwards as the Christians do, call upon Qamata to help them in their time of distress. When he had finished his petition, another councillor - an older man - would speak for some time to Qamata in the same strain, and the chief would follow, and when he had done speaking or praying the meeting would disperse. There was no killing at such gatherings, and with the exception of the three principal actors no one spoke. (241)

1.5.2 Qamata : Rain and the Rainmaker

It is not my intention to provide a survey of the whole range of Xhosa religious beliefs and practices; but in looking at the role of Qamata in bringing about rain, it is first necessary to give some consideration to rainmaking ceremonies on their own terms. (242) Traditionally a number of different reasons were given for why the sky withheld rain. One belief was that it was a manifestation of the ancestors' displeasure. Another popular notion was

that the rain could be delayed by the evil influences of witchcraft and sorcery, and the person supposedly responsible had to be identified by the "rain-doctors" and generally was put to death. So for example, during the great drought of 1800, Nontsangani was "smelled out for scaring off the rain". Witches are often pictured as behaving in ways that directly reverse the normal. Nontsangani was accused of causing the drought "by the indecency of walking about naked ... (and) by her walking on her hands, the soles of her feet turned towards the sky". (243)

When the rains failed rainmakers were summoned and, as Peires observes, "the odd showers which occasionally attended their ceremonies brought psychological as well as material relief". (244) He further comments that during periods of prolonged drought it was the chiefdom as a whole which acted. It was the chief's responsibility to bring the rain and it was he who raised a levy of cattle to pay a celebrated rainmaker. (245) Over the years the Xhosa patronized rainmakers from all the different groups with which they came into contact, Khoi, San and Mfengu, and the missionaries were approached too in the hope that they would be effective in tapping a superior power. Vanderkemp records that when the rainmaker failed in 1800, he was put under considerable pressure by the chief to pray for rain. This episode will be looked at in detail below. Suffice it to say that when his prayers were answered, he was credited with being able to communicate with "the Lord on high" to bring rain. (246)

There are a number of vivid descriptions of Xhosa rainmaking ceremonies in the early written sources which tally in essential details. (247) In the account given by Shaw (1860), the rainmaker Gqindiva was asked for rain by the chief Phato because the country was "dead with drought". (248) On this occasion the missionary was held responsible for keeping back the rain as the ringing of the mission bell at Wesleyville was said to drive the rain clouds away. Shaw countered by laying the blame on the rainmaker, reasoning that it was because people approached him instead of God.

Two points are significant in the account which Shaw gives of his dispute with the rainmaker: that Gqindiva claimed not to make the rain but to "seek" it; and that he agreed with the missionary that God gives the rain (much to Shaw's scorn), yet he asked for "rain from the spirits". (249) This can be linked with the notions about Qamata in relation to rain recorded by Callaway in 1875, from a Ngqika informant in British Kaffraria : "They did not say

he (Qamata) gave the rain ; but if there was a drought and the inspired priests (amaggirha) were unable to produce rain, they said, "It is Ukqamata's", by which they meant to say, that it is his power to cause rain. " (250)

Despite the fact that Qamata was conceived as having "the power to cause rain", he was not generally personified in the natural elements. But Xhosa poets such as Jolobe have referred to a thunderstorm as a manifestation of Qamata's wrath resulting from certain transgressions of law and custom. Significantly one specific transgression was Ngqika's abduction of his uncle Ndlambe's wife, Thuthula. (251) In Xhosa law this was an incestuous relationship and a grave violation of custom by the chief. We shall see that such was the fear of Ngqika's followers that they would all suffer some sort of retribution from above, that they deserted to Ndlambe in large numbers. (252)

1.5.3 Calling on Qamata for Rain

One source mentions that in times of drought the people used to visit the graves of the Xhosa chiefs in order to appeal to them to ask Qamata to send rain. (253) The more usual practice was for a chief and his people to ascend a high hill or mountain to supplicate Qamata for rain. The practice is not described in the historical records but the many references in Xhosa literature, together with reports of similar communal rituals among the Thembu and Zulu, support oral evidence that this custom was an old Xhosa tradition. The ritual is still widely practised by Xhosa today in times of severe drought, with the Christians adding new associations and practices to it. (254)

Fawcett notes that in classical mythology, "the mountain represented symbolically the point at which the divine and the human met together". (255) It was therefore natural to speak of the top of the mountain as the dwelling place of the gods; but mythological man only periodically ascended into the mountain to meet his God. This of course would only be true of a sky god where the need for a symbol of transcendence had not yet emerged.

As I have tried to show, the absence of early written material about Qamata is because the missionaries were not aware of this concept of the supreme being before the 1870s; but the evidence indicates that it was a well established tradition among the Xhosa by the nineteenth century. Similarly I suggest that the absence of any account of the ritual intercession of Qamata for rain in contemporary mission records is because no missionary was

ever privileged to witness this most sacred ritual. It is important to remember that it only took place when the efforts of the rainmakers had failed and the drought had reached critical proportions. This might not be for a decade at a time. An account of the ritual as practised in Ciskei has been set down from the oral tradition by Raum and de Jager and purports to relate to pre-Christian times:

> The chief would tell his people to brew beer, which was then taken to the great place and from there to a hill. Everyone would be dressed in traditional attire, and they would dance (batshile) and call in chorus : Sicela imvula, Qamata. ("We're asking for rain, Qamata") The clouds would then gather and rain fall profusely until the rivers overflowed. making it difficult for the people to return to their homes. They would withdraw to the great place and drink, eat, and dance there until the rivers subsided. (256)

Another source maintains that they had to refrain from intercourse, i.e. be ritually pure, before going up the mountain to approach Qamata. (257) In its Chritianized form a minister can lead the ritual and in a newspaper report of a service held on a hill-top in Transkei, Pauw observes that "the preacher's text, Uyakufumana ukuphila (you will be healed) reflects a concern with the sustenance of life in general, not with rain and crops alone". (258) However, when information was collected on a visit to Ciskei in February 1980 during a severe drought, similar services were being held throughout the area specifically to pray for rain.

Traditionally the chief is the mediator; and information was obtained from Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe as to the way in which he leads the service on the hill-top behind his home at KwaGwali. (259) His people are a mixed group and the ritual is drawn from both Christian and Xhosa traditions; but basically "the idea is to go up the mountain in order to meet God at a special place to pray for rain", and this is rooted in the pre-Christian Xhosa tradition.

Each area is said to have a special place and at KwaGwali it is an outcrop of rocks on the hill-top. The chief wears his traditional regalia of karosses, while many of the men wear blankets, and the women, traditional skirts. The ritual begins at the cattle byre, "the seat of

the ancestral spirits", so that the ancestors can be summoned to accompany them to the place of worship in the traditional way. All the elderly men enter the byre and the chief then addresses the ancestors. Following this the chief and his elders proceed to the top of the hill. The women and children go ahead and sing church hymns and traditional songs while they wait. There is more singing during the service, including Ntsikana's "Great hymn" ("Ulo Thixo omkhulu"), as well as prayers, an address by the chief to state the purpose of their being there, and possibly also a Bible reading. The passage favoured is from Kings II verse 18 where Elijah has a contest with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel and brings the drought to an end with his ritual, showing that Yahweh has the power to control rain and fertility.

The Xhosa practice of invoking Qamata for rain seems to draw heavily on Khoisan belief and practice. The supreme beings of both the Khoi and the San were regarded as rain-givers and were prayed to for rain. The annual rainmaking ceremony of the Khoi was their most important religious ceremony and was rich in symbolic ritual. It was aimed "directly at providing an adequate supply of rain for the life of the tribe". (260)

Laubscher describes a communal ritual which appears similar to the Xhosa one and which was traditionally practised by the Thembu when they wished to approach uMdali for help during periods of prolonged drought or epidemics of sickness among humans and animals. It took place on the summit of a hill or mountain, and songs were interspersed with prayers to uMdali. (261) This ritual was called umtendeleko, the name of a traditional family or social feast held on any special occasion. The word was adopted by missionaries to designate the Lord's Supper. (262)

Berglund describes a comparable ritual which the Zulu carry out when they wish to call on the Lord-of-the-Sky in times of urgent need. He emphasizes that it must be done in an orderly fashion and that appropriate preparations must be made before approaching the supreme being. (263) According to him, the ritual intercession takes place on certain characteristic hills and mountains scattered around in Natal and Zululand, on which nobody builds and where cattle are preferably not grazed. A photograph of one such mountain shows that it is conical and very similar in appearance to eQamata in Transkei. On the summit of these high places is found an isigugo, a kneeling place, which can be marked with a circle of stones.

Nowadays the ritual is carried out by Christians and Zionists as well as traditionalists, and a day is appointed

by the different leaders for their people to mount the hill to pray for rain. At the summit they approach the isigugo with great reverence, crawling forward on hands and knees and remaining kneeling while their leader makes their supplications known to the Lord-of-the-Sky. Eloquence of language and dignified behaviour are said to be prerequisites for the prayer-leader. Again Christian influences have changed the content of the service but the tradition appears to be long established.

Supportive historical evidence comes from Tyler (1891), who spent 40 years as a missionary in Zululand. He records that no Zulu dared point a finger at these special hills or mountains, "lest thunder and hailstorms result". (264) The clenched fist was used instead, as when pointing to the sky, and this custom prevails to this day. (265) The indications are that the practice of calling on the supreme being for rain pre-dated Xhosa and Khoisan interaction, the difference being the identification of the supreme being as Qamata.

1.5.4 Rainmaking and Driving off Storms

Recent research has shown that Qamata may be invoked in rainmaking rituals and in driving off storms. It is impossible to date these traditions and there may well be missionary influence here. However, they may equally well be old customs as they "fit" the thought-patterns about Qamata, and early records of the Khoi report a similar symbolic rainmaking ritual. (266) Berglund reports comparable traditional rituals among the Zulu in relation to the Lord-of-the-Sky too. (267) Mbiti's findings in other African societies are that "on the whole (rainmakers) exercise their profession in consultation with God", but of course God is more significant in some of these societies than in others. (268)

The rainmaker, igogo or iggirha lemvula, described by Malan, is said to have the exclusive function of approaching Qamata for rain. (269) The rainmaker mixes his herbs and medicines in a baked clay pot, inggayi. The mixture is stirred with a special forked stick, ixhayi, which symbolizes lightning. The stick is rubbed gently in the palms of the hands until the contents of the pot foam. This is supposed to represent clouds. During the whole ceremony the rainmaker talks constantly to Qamata, asking him to bring rain. If the rain does not come, the failure is ascribed to transgressions against the ancestors and they must be placated with a ritual killing. The sacrifice is also thought to rouse the goodwill of Qamata.

Afterwards the rainmaking ceremony is repeated.

The thought-world underlying this ritual shows that Qamata is regarded as determining the course of nature, so that it is he who must be approached when disasters are caused by natural forces. In all other cases such as sickness, misfortune or death, it is the ancestor spirits who are approached. The supreme being is also said to be concerned with the right relationship between men and their ancestor spirits, because when these relationships are seriously disturbed he will inflict natural disasters on the people until harmony is restored. For this reason the rainmaker urges the people to make sacrifices to their ancestors when Qamata holds back the rain.

Malan also describes a ritual procedure followed to deflect impending thunderstorms or hurricanes, which is associated with the supreme being. A woman who has borne twins is sought because she is believed to have been blessed by Qamata in a particular way and that the threatening storm will listen to her commands. She takes the cloth or skin in which the twins are usually wrapped and waves it in the direction of the storm, saying repeatedly: "Yiya emaMpondweni! ("Go to Mpondoland!") When the storm changes course, doing no damage to the cattle or crops, Qamata is thought to have responded to the people's request through the woman's mediation. (270)

1.5.5 A Ritual Killing to Propitiate Qamata

It is clear that prayer was the main element in ritual practices relating to Qamata. Beer and dancing were sometimes included but no mention is made of a ritual killing, unlike the propitiation to iNkosi yezulu after death by lightning, sacrifices generally being reserved for the ancestors. Callaway was told by a Zulu informant that there had once been izibongo or praise-names with which to praise Unkulunkulu, but these had been lost in the course of time because he no longer had a son who could worship him. The ancestors could be worshipped because their izibongo were known by their descendants, but there were no names to worship Unkulunkulu. (271)

At the idini or ritual killing which is made to propitiate an ancestor spirit who has been divined as causing sickness, the recitation of the clan names of the sufferer, interspersed with certain verbal formulae, ngula, is a ritual invocation of the spirits. According to Hammond-Tooke, this is the only killing at which there is prayer and provides proof that the ancestors are worshipped. (272)

Strangely enough it is Callaway who gives the only example of a ritual killing directed to Qamata in former times. The Ngqika whom he interviewed at St. John's river in the 1870s told him that the name of Qamata existed among the first Rharhabe and was not taken from any other tribe. He confirmed the statements of Callaway's other Ngqika informants concerning the nature of Qamata, and then went on to say :

> If a man was ill, they killed a bullock and called on Ukqamata, that he might raise him up from his sickness; when the bullock was killed an old man stood forth and prayed thus, "Kqamata, look upon thy son, and raise him up from his sickness." And before eating the flesh of the sacrifice a piece called Umhhotsho, or Ukqamata's portion was set aside, and when all the rest was eaten, they ate that also. (273)

1.5.6 Prayer and Izivivane

The St John's River informant also told Callaway that just as they had taken over from the Hottentots Thixo for God instead of Qamata, so they had taken ukuthandaza to pray, instead of ukukusa, and prayed thus to Qamata: "Oh mayst thou be pleased to regard us at all times when enemies shall beset us." Kropf says that ukuthandaza originally meant to pray for mercy or life, but later came to be used for prayer in general. (274) He gives the meaning of ukukusa as to screen from (wind or rain), to shelter; with the figurative meaning of to protect from violence, to keep safe. (275) It is possible that Callaway meant ukukuza, as one of its meanings, is to praise and this seems a more likely connection. (276) Callaway thought that if Qamata was found to be the name of an ancestor, in accordance with the religious legends of other tribes, it had "evidently been stripped of its anthropomorphism". (277)

A form of prayer apparently borrowed from the Khoi was associated with the izivivane or heaps of stones found at roadsides, near river fords and on mountain tops. There are numerous theories about the origin of these cairns but the Khoi regarded them as graves connected with Heitsi Eibib, who was either a legendary hero or a mythical ancestor. The cultic practice was to add stones, branches and other objects to the cairns while praying to Heitsi Eibib for success in hunting, plentiful cattle and other

material benefits. (278) This custom was also reported for the San. (279)

Izivivane were found throughout Xhosa country and the cultic practice of the Khoi was followed by the Xhosa. A passer-by would pick up a stone, green branch or bunch of grass, spit on it, and then throw it onto the cairn. Sometimes this was done without a word, other times a simple prayer was said which could include a plea for strength and health, an abundant supply of food on the way, and good luck in accompanying the purpose of the journey. This practice is widely documented by early travellers in Kaffraria, but they could find no tradition as to how the cairns had originated and all the Xhosa could say was that it was the custom of their ancestors. (280) They had a superstitious dread that neglect of the ritual would lead to misfortune. Xhosa tradition claims that Rharhabe encouraged "the form of worship associated with izivivane and disseminated it among the people", (281) but the Xhosa prayers were never as elaborate as those of the Khoi. (282)

Some Xhosa say that the prayer was made to the cairn itself : "Sivivane ndiphe amandla" ("Sivivane give me strength"). But most relate that it was the supreme being who was invoked, the earliest records using Qamata, the later ones Thixo : "Qamata ndincede" ("God help me"). The ancestors could also be included : "May God and the spirits of my fathers befriend me in the hour of need." (283) Kropf says that no matter whether the object of the journey was good or evil, whether the traveller was going to steal his neighbour's cattle, or to pay a visit to his friends, or to pay his addresses to a young woman, he would use the same form. (284) The cairns were found scattered throughout Mpondo (285) and Zulu (286) country too, and the same ritual was practised. (A similar custom is said to exist in other parts of Africa as well as in Europe, North America, New Zealand, Borneo, Polynesia and Central Asia, (287) and of course in the Biblical tradition.) (288)

Bryant argues against the izivivane being graves in the Zulu area for the following reasons. Firstly, that the Zulu had no tradition whatever that they were graves. Secondly, when they threw stones, they made no appeal to any spirits but only spat on them. Thirdly, the Zulu never had the custom of burying anybody alongside the public highways, where the izivivane were always found. And fourthly, the heaps were frequently found on rocky or stony ground where it would be impossible to dig a grave. He concludes that they were "merely superstitious "luck-heaps"". (289) Berglund contends that they were a

traditional road-sign and that spitting on the stone was a symbol of innocence. (290)

On the surface the cultic ritual appears to have a purely magical purpose; but the fact that Qamata was invoked suggests a deeper religious significance for some at least. Just as the ancestor spirits were associated with the homestead and its immediate environs, and had their sacred places there, so was the supreme being associated with the wider universe of nature beyond the spirits' protection, and the cairns could have symbolized a point of contact with Qamata, a supreme being who became more approachable under Khoi influence. Certainly izivivane seem to have the connotation of a localized divine presence such as one might associate in Catholic practice with the altar; if not Qamata then the ancestor spirits. The blowing out of water in a ritual context symbolizes purity, for if there is anger in a person's heart the ritual may be ineffective. (291)

1.5.6 Qamata and the Ancestors

There is a strong tradition that Qamata was approached through the ancestors. The Xhosa world view holds that there is an hierarchical ordering of life in this world and the next, and it is claimed that the ancestor spirits have always acted as mediators between man, who stood at the bottom, and Qamata, who stood at the top. (292) This imagery is modelled on social and political life, and is said to be a wide-spread notion among other Bantu-speaking peoples. (293) Opinion is divided as to whether it is a modern innovation inspired by missionary teaching or not; but, as field research has shown, it is a popular belief among Xhosa today. This is how the veneration of the ancestors is reconciled with Christianity, although the radical separation between this place and the place of Qamata, which would be appropriate in what Cumpsty terms "Religion of Secular World Affirmation" (Christianity) in his typology, would hardly have been part of the original concept.

The intercessory role of the ancestors is rationalized by the Xhosa in a number of ways. First, there is the idea that the ancestor spirits dwell in the same spiritual realm as Qamata and are therefore in a better position to approach him than man. (294) At the same time, the ancestors are part of the extended family and because they know the needs of their descendants on earth they are effective go-betweens. Linked to this is the idea "that just as any person who is a new arrival in a new

environment may approach local authority through the mediation of one of the well-known residents, so also the living who are not familiar with God ask the ancestor spirits who are closer to him to intercede on their behalf". (295) Another notion is based on the cardinal values of reverence and respect for seniority and status. In the same way that it would be considered a dishonour and irreverence for a child to mention his father's name, so it would be an act of dishonour and irreverence to communicate either by prayer or by sign with the supreme being. (296) Similarly, a chief is never approached directly. Reverence and respect for the chief are shown by going through a mediator, his councillors fulfilling this role. (297) Nor does the chief speak to his subjects directly but rather through a spokesman. (298) Qamata is the iNkosi Enkulu (the Great Chief) and no mortal would have the audacity to speak to him directly. (299) One tradition says that if you did communicate directly with the supreme being you would be killed by lightning, and if you ever saw him you would cease to be. (300) This reluctance to address the great deity should not be confused with transcendence in the sense in which we have been using that word. This is not a radical gap but simply the principle of keeping the background undefined which we find in Canaanite religion, where El is in the background and technically the supreme figure in the pantheon, but Ba'al receives the worship. This principle is also found in Zoroastrianism, where Zerran, the old fire god, was at some stage resurrected to serve this purpose when Ahura Mazdah became too clearly defined. Even in the Religion of Secular World Affirmation, which is perhaps where Zoroastrianism belongs, a deus absconditus is a necessary corollary to the limitations of language.

Burns-Ncamashe illustrates the mediatorial function of the ancestors in his account of a traditional form of "speaking-out" in private.

> If a person felt a deep sense of guilt and did not feel moved to make a public confession, he would go to the forest and look for a deep hole. There he would kneel and pour out all his wrongdoing. Whenever people heard this, the women as they were gathering wood, the men as they were hunting, they would listen, and from the words that were said they would move quietly away so as not to disturb the person making his confession. They knew what was happening because it was the common practice.

> The idea of using the hole was because the bones of the ancestors, the chiefs, the great men of the country, were in the earth and their spirits were supposed to be somewhere there too. The spirits of the departed were supposed to hear the confession and were going to convey this to the greatest of all spirits who would then somehow give absolution. But it would not be pronounced so that it could be heard. It would be seen in the change, the worry would go and there would be more luck and good fortune. Then the person felt absolved. (301)

The practice of "speaking-out" into the hole could be very old, the need to restore harmony with the ancestors being vital; but the confession-absolution language appears to manifest Christian influence. (302) Despite the strenuous efforts to defend the idea of the intercessory role of the ancestors by Christian blacks, as given in the evidence above, I agree with Hammond-Tooke that there is nothing in indigenous concepts to indicate that the ancestors mediate between the supreme being and man; and that such an idea is almost certainly due to missionary influence. (303) As Peires argues too, there is no reason why there should have been a coherent relationship between the ancestors and the supreme being because they operated on totally distinct planes. (304) One of the ways in which religious change has taken place, as African societies expanded in scale, has been the casting of the ancestors in new roles and the linking of them to new causes in order for them to meet new needs in new situations. (305)

1.6 KHOI AND MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON XHOSA BELIEFS UTHIXO AND UMTYHOLI

1.6.1 The Origin of the God-name Thixo

The origin of the word Thixo is well documented as being derived from Tsui//Goab,(Tsuni-//Goam), the great hero of the Khoi from whom they are said to have taken their origin. (306) The name was written down by early travellers and missionaries in a multitude of different forms and also appears as Tiqua, Tuiqua, Tuiqoa, Tanquoa, Thuickwe, Thuuikwe, Tsoi Koap, Tsoeikoap, Tshu'Koab, Tsu-goam, etc. The meaning of the name is usually given as "sore or wounded knee". According to Khoi myth, Tsui//Goab was a great chief and warrior who went to war with another

chief, //Gaunab, because the latter was always killing great numbers of his people. They had numerous battles until Tsui//Goab became strong enough to kill //Gaunab. However, his enemy managed to give him a blow on the knee before expiring, and henceforth he was lame. As the conqueror he became deified by later generations. He was reputed to have had extraordinary powers during his lifetime; and besides being a renowned warrior of great strength, he was said to be a powerful magician and a seer. Legend credits him with coming to life several times after dying. He ultimately came to be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. (307)

The Khoi worshipped Tsui//Goab as the benevolent being who gave them rain, provided them with food and was responsible for their good health, and as the avenger who protected them from all evil. He was ubiquitous and the people took oaths by him, which is said to signify that he was regarded as a moral being who averted evil. When taken by surprise they would use his name as an exclamation: "Tsui//Goatse!" He was invoked at dawn each day with the face turned towards the east. The public prayers were said to have been expressed in poetic form and were often sung as hymns. As with the Xhosa sky-god, Tsui//Goab was identified with thunder and lightning. When a thunderstorm was approaching, the people would assemble for a ritual dance and sing a hymn invoking the thunder to leave them alone as they were "guiltless". If it thundered, the people would say that it was Tsui//Goab speaking and that he was scolding them. (308)

The most important festival was the rain-making ceremony which was held about November or December each year, when the old men judged that the summer rains were due. This was the occasion for the coming together of all the chief's people, so establishing some sort of social cohesion. The religious ritual at the ceremony was rich in symbolism and included the sacrificial killing of animals, a great "tribal" dance and communal prayers in which Tsui//Goab was invoked for plentiful rain and food. (309) The return of the Pleiades each year was another occasion for such prayers. It is clear that the Khoi regarded Tsui//Goab as the ultimate source of all power as well as the great ancestor, and that they worshipped him as the supreme being. (310) But even though, in Horton's terms, the microcosmic boundaries of the Khoi were weak, and, as could be expected, the supreme being loomed large in their life in addition to the considerable attention which they gave to lesser spirits, (311) their world view remained

monistic, being pervaded by the divine, and there was no radical gap between man and the supreme being.

1.6.2 Khoi and Missionary Influence

When Vanderkemp first set foot among the Xhosa in 1799, he reported that they had "no word to express Deity by", and that the king, Ngqika, and his followers therefore used the Hottentot name Tuikwa. (312) A couple of months later he again mentioned the fact that this God-name had been "borrowed from the Hottentots". (313) In his account of Xhosa religion which he wrote after spending sixteen months among the Xhosa, he concluded that "if by religion we understand reverence for God, or the external action by which that reverence is expressed : I never could perceive that they had any religion, nor any idea of the existence of a God." He then went on to say that he was of course "speaking nationally", for there were many individuals who had some notion of God's existence, "which they had received from adjacent nations"; and that these individuals called the deity Thiko, which was "a corruption of Thuike, the name by which God is called in the language of the Hottentots". (314)

Vanderkemp's reliance on a Khoi interpreter, together with the antagonism of Ngqika and his followers, was hardly conducive to a penetrating insight into Xhosa religion. Nonetheless, I suggest that his observations show that the Xhosa were not merely using Thixo to refer to the Khoi God; but that many of those in the frontier district, who had mixed with the Khoi, were either in the process of adopting, or had already adopted, the Thixo concept for themselves. This is supported by Bleek's findings as to how the word Tsui//Goab was diffused among different people by migrating Khoi, taking on different forms. (315) Furthermore, one strand of the Xhosa tradition holds that Thixo "was introduced [to the Xhosa] when they came into contact with the Hottentots". (316)

The first converts to Christianity were mostly Gonaqua Khoi or Gqunukhwebe, a mixture of Gonaqua and Xhosa, and as they were the first interpreters to the missionaries the name Thixo, was perpetuated in expressing the Christian concept of God. Although the missionaries agreed on the Khoi derivation of Thixo, their differences in opinion as to its original meaning were as many and varied as was their spelling of the word: uThixo, uTikxo, uTixo, Thiko, Utika, Utikla, Utikwa, Tuikwa, Thuuicke, etc. Vanderkemp believed that the word signified one who induces pain. (317) This is possibly a misunderstanding of the derivation

of the name Tsui//Goab (tsu meaning sore), or else it arose from the idea of Thixo manifesting his wrath in thunder and lightning. Brownlee (1820s) was of the opinion that it was the Hottentot word for beautiful, (318) while Ayliff said that it should be pronounced Utikwa, the literal meaning of which was "my arm or strength". (319) This lack of understanding of the original connotations of the name examplifies the dangers of an outsider, who is unfamiliar with the indigenous language and tradition; affixing Christian concepts onto foreign words. (320)

Callaway was one of the few to voice disquiet over the widespread use of Thixo for the name of God. In 1870, after making a thorough investigation of the origin of the word, he concluded that it was the praise-name of some "ancient Hottentot brave"; and declared that it had been "unwisely and improperly adopted by the early Missionaries; to be explained and excused only on the ground that at first the teachers and the taught were unable freely to communicate ideas to one another". (321)

Shaw (1860), on the other hand, defended the missionary usage of Thixo. He claimed that this appellation was never used by the Xhosa with reference to any other person or being than God, with the exception that, metaphorically, they might say to an individual whom they wished to flatter, "You are our utixo", meaning their god". Shaw held that there was but a slight connection between this word and the term used by the Hottentots in their language to denote deity. It was only after long and careful consideration that the missionaries had "generally concurred in adopting the word Utixo as the name for God". He maintained that throughout the area served by missionaries, from the Colony to beyond the Umzimvubu River, no other meaning was attached to the word by the black people, excepting very rarely in the figurative sense mentioned above; and this was strictly confined to the "Heathen". "No Kaffirs that are under Christian instruction would apply the term even metaphorically in that manner", he said. Shaw ended by criticizing Colenso for trying to "Kaffrize" a Latin name for God, "Udio", which unfortunately in Zulu meant "a small earthern pot for dishing up food". Consequently, "the natives were obliged to explain that the Bishop's Udio meant Utixo". (322)

1.6.3 Xhosa Beliefs concerning Thixo

The early missionaries found it difficult to get an idea of what the pre-Christian use of the word Thixo meant to the Xhosa. Ayliff observed that it was generally used

as an invocation or exclamation when someone sneezed, and unless under missionary influence it failed to produce any reverence. (323) An old Xhosa whom Callaway consulted was more explicit. He said that when a man sneezed and used the customary exclamation: "May Utikxo ever regard me with favour," he associated the praise-name with a supreme power in the above. He elaborated further:

> We used to say it when it thundered, and we thus knew that there is a power which is in heaven; and at length we adopted the custom of saying, Utikxo is he who is above all. But it was not said that he was in a certain place in heaven; it was said that he filled the whole heaven. No distinction of place was made. (324)

Callaway was rightly convinced of Khoi influence on the Xhosa concept of the supreme being, although it was fervently denied by his informant. At the same time, there is no suggestion that the Xhosa adopted the Khoi notion of Thixo as the great ancestor.

Brownlee maintains that the Xhosa undoubtedly held that the Thixo who was preached to them by the missionaries was a separate and distinct supreme being from Qamata and so accepted the name Thixo. (325) In the early 1830s, Kay found that whereas Thixo was generally used among frontier clans for God, it was seldom used in Mpondoland, showing that the use of the name was most prevalent in the region where the Khoi were concentrated and the missionaries first started work. (326) A hundred years later the spread of missionary influence had resulted in its coming into general use in Mpondoland. Hunter reported that the old people were adamant that they had always known the word, "and that they always called upon uThixo when they sneezed, when they were saved from danger (as in battle), and when laying a stone upon the izivivane". Further, deformed births were attributed to uThixo (udaliwe ngho Thixo - he was created by uThixo), and an insane person was called umntu kaThixo, the person of uThixo. (327) The Bomvana are the only group who are reported as being concerned with the origin of Thixo. Their tradition relates that in the beginning Thixo came out of the sea. (328)

1.6.4 The Satanic Figure : umTyholi

Another concept which appears to have been borrowed from the Khoi is the "satanic figure" known as umTyholi.

(329) Kropf gives the meaning of the word as one who wilfully accuses another for the purpose of injuring him, a slanderer, the devil. (330) He is conceived of as an evil spirit found among men, who can be held responsible for bad and sinful things including certain bad dispositions shown by men. umTyholi is also regarded as the creator of evil things such as poisonous snakes, bats, owls and other objects and creatures connected with witchcraft and sorcery. This belief corresponds with the "creation" story related by Tiyo Soga (1860s), where the good intentions of the Creator were always opposed by "an undefined enemy of man". As noted under myth, the "enemy" opposed the "useful bee" of the Creator by "a troublesome fly", a swallow as against "his ugly bat", and an eagle as against "the ghostly owl ... with his horrible eyes and death-inviting voice at night". Finally, the enemy sent the rock-lizard to outrun the chameleon, and so bring the message of death to man. (331) There is no clear idea about the living-place of umTyholi but he is thought to roam the earth. His influence is believed to be confined to the living : he has no power over ancestor spirits.

It is said that the Xhosa had the concept of the evil spirit before the coming of whites; and that it is much stronger among the Rharhabe in Ciskei than among the Gcaleka in Transkei. This lends weight to the supposition that it is of Khoi origin. The more so as the Gqunukhwebe, who are of mixed Gonaqua and Xhosa blood, have the most clearly defined concept of umTyholi. As we have seen, the Khoi regarded //Gaunab as the source of all evil. All sickness was thought to come from him or his servants, the witches. In Khoi mythology he is in conflict with Tsui//Goab, the source of health and prosperity. (332) Satan of Christianity could readily be identified with the concept of umTyholi, providing another example of the dynamics in the ongoing process of change in Xhosa religion.

1.7 AN ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE

We have seen that according to the designations uMdali, uMenzi, uHlanga, iNkosi uyezulu, uMvelinqangi and uNkulunkulu, the Xhosa were part of the Nguni tradition in which there were two main conceptions of the supreme being: the one relating to origin and the other connected with the sky and its phenomena. In this monistic world view we have a background god who is identified as the one who brought man and his animals forth out of the lower world; who reflects both the creative and the destructive elements of

nature by being both benevolent and malevolent; who is personified as the sky and who manifests his wrath in the natural elements; who is not invoked directly in any way in the day-to-day life of man, and does not have any moral concern for man; and who is seldom approached. The only occasion on which a ritual was directed to his worship seems to have been when man or beast was struck by lightning and a sacrifice was made in propitiation.

Although misfortune was generally interpreted in terms of ancestor punishment or according to witch-beliefs, it is evident that, in the closed system of cause and effect typical of the monistic world view, there were certain areas of the "inexplicable" which had to be "explained" in terms of the actions of a remote supernatural power. This is best articulated in the words of Ngqika to Barrow in 1798, when he said "that they believed in the existence of some invisible power that sometimes brought good and sometimes evil upon them". (333) The good included the making of "all those things which they could not understand or imitate", while the evil was related to untimely death and the workings of nature in its "impersonal, cosmic and more dangerous aspects". (334)

In addition, we have seen that the designations Qamata and Thixo were incorporated from the Khoisan, the former possibly centuries ago, the latter towards the end of the eighteenth century. Ehret notes that a loanword can denote an outright addition to beliefs or else a reconceptualization of an older element. (335) In this instance the former seems to be the case. Loans in the religious sphere may also reflect something about the social history of the people involved. I have shown that the incorporation of large numbers of Khoisan individuals into Xhosa society opened the way for cultural diffusion, more specifically the infiltration of religious ideas and practices. Intermarriage in particular would have been a powerful influence in fostering the assimilation of new concepts. (336) What is significant for our purposes, however, is the identification of the influences which were at work in determining the selection and acceptance by the Xhosa of new elements from the Khoisan tradition, especially the more developed notion of the supreme being.

An essential element of my thesis is that words can be "carriers" of change. I also subscribe to the view that "religious symbols have the power to shape both culture and society". (337) In the case of the Xhosa it is evident that the assimilation of the term Qamata from the incoming culture into their tradition brought with it the concept of a supreme being who was no longer merely a first cause and

Sky Deity, but who was actively involved in human affairs. This was a profound change in religious belief and practice.

Cumpsty maintains that the members of a group (in the Static Stage), who have their sense of reality firmly integrated with their socio-cultural experience, will not be open to any serious shift in their understanding of ultimate reality unless their socio-cultural experience has been disturbed. It is my contention that the geographical movement and cultural migration of the Xhosa were sufficient to disturb their socio-cultural experience and so create a need to fill an almost unconscious symbol vacuum and to find a new source of power with which to cope with new situations.

The pace of change for the Xhosa was not sufficient to require a radical break with tradition, as was the case when their society disintegrated in the mid-nineteenth century when they were confronted by Christianity and westernization. Rather, new elements were gradually absorbed from the Khoisan culture which served to explain and control their gradually changing situation. The Khoi and the San were both wandering peoples whose religious life focussed on a host of supernatural beings; but it was their emphasis on a supreme being who was the ultimate source of power which found favour with the Xhosa.

Cumpsty has emphasized that no symbol will long survive transplantation from one culture to another unless it finds verification in the socio-cultural experience of the receiving tradition. I conclude, therefore, that the symbolic associations of the God-name Qamata became assimilated into Xhosa tradition because they "fitted" the Xhosa need.

Qamata was invoked in ritual prayer on a variety of different occasions. Mbiti argues against asserting that the traditional African people generally experienced a spiritual fellowship with God which could approximate the Christian sense of worship. He maintains that God was "utilized" rather than "worshipped" and the prayers on these occasions were requests to the supreme being "to give or to do something of a material nature". (338) These invocations fall within our definition of worship; but in any case the distinction Mbiti makes cannot be maintained in a monistic world view. On the one hand, the sense of the total belonging is an ever present reality, hence the need to maintain the harmony. On the other hand, the connections within the monistic world view are almost mechanistically conceived. For all that nature is experienced as unpredictable, there is always some

explanation to be discovered; and a need to assert volition in the supreme being and hence personality, essential in the Religion of Secular World Affirmation, is not to be found yet.

In this system, in which everything has its place and purpose, religious ritual to whatever end it may be directed is one of the essential roles of man. Qamata was thought of as the ultimate source of power, and ritual techniques were either borrowed from the Khoisan, or developed, to approach him in times of national crisis, which were beyond the control of the ancestors. By reason of its nature, this worship of the supreme being was only sporadic and he necessarily stood in a position of "moral neutrality". He was a bigger God but he remained within the monistic world view. The present experience had not yet been sufficiently disturbed as to be unacceptable and so precipitate a move towards transcendence.

The praise-names Qamata and Thixo appear to have had similar connotations originally so that it was not surprising that Thixo gradually superseded Qamata following the increasing interaction between Xhosa and Khoi. With the adoption of Thixo by the missionaries for the Christian concept of God, the name became identified with the move from monism to monotheism and an increasing sense of the transcendence of God, although it is clear that two sets of meaning must have existed side by side for a considerable length of time.

Peires maintains that the absence of the word Qamata before the 1870s is a major problem which cannot be adequately accounted for by the secrecy of the Xhosa. He suggests that the major religious crisis of the Xhosa came after the Cattle Killing of 1856-7 and not as a result of contact with the Khoi. Consequently, it would be natural for them to seek a high god after Nongqawuse, natural that it should be an alternative to Thixo, and natural too that they would claim ancient origins for a new belief. (339)

This argument is persuasive but does not reconcile with the evidence. According to Waters, the name of Qamata was known in 1855. By the 1870s the beliefs and cultic practices were widespread among the western Xhosa, the informants in different parts of the country testifying independently to its ancient origins. There is no way that these people could have united in establishing such a new indigenous movement at a time when their society had been shattered and they had been dispersed. Moreover, Juju's evidence seems indisputable. He was born about 1800 and he was relating to a time past when Xhosa society still held together, as shown by the other historical information he

offered. What may be feasible is that the Qamata cult became more popular after the Cattle Killing. But what I have tried to show is that the mixing with the Khoi was not a major religious crisis for the Xhosa and therefore did not need major religious changes. In contrast the socio-cultural disturbance following the Cattle Killing was catastrophic and precipitated the radical move from monism to monotheism with its consequent conversion to Christianity on a large scale.

There is a strong move among Xhosa Christians today to replace the name Thixo, which is regarded as having been foisted on them by the missionaries, with Qamata. This conforms with the desire to recover past traditions and customs as part of the black cultural renaissance and goes together with the resurgence of the ancestor cult. (340)

It is my contention that as a result of the incorporation of Khoisan elements into Xhosa religious tradition, the way was prepared for the interpretation of Christianity within the tradition. This is well illustrated by the teaching of Ntsikana as well as the early ministry of Nxele (Makhanda), his contemporary and rival. I will be arguing, therefore, that the religious transformations brought about by Christianity were part of an ongoing process of religious change among the Xhosa, albeit intensified and at a greater pace; and that Christian doctrine only became a meaningful part of the Xhosa belief system when it began to meet their existential and interpretative needs.

PART I

NOTES - CHAPTER 1

1. For a full discussion see J. Hodgson, The God of the Xhosa (Cape Town, 1982).
2. These sort of problems are fully dealt with in Ranger and Kimambo (1972).
3. E.g. G.M. Theal, Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before 1505 (London, 1910) p. 193. I am greatly indebted to Manton Hirst of the Kaffrarian Museum, who marshalled together much of the evidence in the following discussion in a commendable attempt to distinguish fact from fiction.
4. E.O.J. Westphal, "The Linguistic Prehistory of Southern Africa : Bush, Kwadi, Hottentot, and Bantu Linguistic Relationships", Africa 33 (3) : p. 264, 1959.
5. R.R. Inskeep, The Peopling of Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1978) p. 145.
6. M. Wilson, "The Early History of the Transkei and Ciskei", African Studies 18 (4) : p. 178, 1959.
7. Wilson (1959) pp. 167-74; M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa I (Oxford, 1969) pp. 78-87. Cf. Inskeep (1978) p. 153.
8. Wilson (1959) p. 176. M. Cronin's excavation of an early Iron Age site on the Transkeian coast has been dated 7th and 8th century AD, but there is no certainty as to whether the occupants were Khoi or Bantu-speaking : East London Daily Dispatch, 3 August 1978. See also Marks and Atmore (1970) pp. 120-32.
9. Peires (1981) p. 19.
10. D. Birmingham and S. Marks, "Southern Africa" in Cambridge History of Africa III, edited by R. Oliver (Cambridge, 1977) p. 616.
11. Peires (1981) pp. 20-1.
12. W.K. Kaye, "The origin of the Kaffir chiefs, etc.", MS 172c, Grey Collection, South African Library.
13. Birmingham and Marks (1977) p. 616.
14. For a discussion on the problems of terminology see R. Elphick, Kraal and Castle. Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa (New Haven and London, 1977) pp. xxi-xxii, and Westphal (1963). The term "hunter-gatherer" denotes people who lived by what they could hunt and gather from their environment. The "hunter-herders" are those who herded cattle as well as hunted, and are descended in the main from the Late Stone Age communities. Khoi is the preferred term but Newton-King makes the point that "Hottentot" was both a legal and ethnic category : S. Newton-King, "The Labour market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28" in Economy and Society in the Pre-Industrial South Africa, edited by S. Marks and A. Atmore (London, 1980) pp. 200-1, n.4.
15. Rubusana (1966) p. 80.
16. R.M. Derricourt, Prehistoric Man in the Ciskei and Transkei (Cape Town, 1977); Elphick (1977) ch. 1; G. Harinck, "Interaction between Xhosa and Khoi : Emphasis on the period 1620-1750" in African Societies in Southern Africa, edited by L. Thompson (London, 1969) pp. 145-69.
17. For a general discussion on relations between the Xhosa and Khoi and San see Wilson and Thompson I (1969) pp. 102-7.
18. Harinck (1969).
19. Mabona gives evidence that Khoi wives "rated a special favour

with the Xhosa" : p.1. Prins (1980) p. 39, shows the role of women in the changing composition of Lozi society.

20. Peires (1981) p. 23.
21. According to Westphal (1963), Proto-Khoi did not contain clicks so that they are probably of Central Bushman origin.
22. R. Derricourt, "Settlement in the Transkei and Ciskei before the Mfecane" in Beyond the Cape Frontier. Studies in the History of the Transkei and Ciskei, edited by C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (London, 1974) p. 52.
23. W. Bourquin, "Click Words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common", African Studies 10-11 : pp. 59-81, 1951-52; L.W. Lanham, "The proliferation and extension of Bantu phonemic systems influenced by Bushman and Hottentot", Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics, Cambridge, Mass. 1962 (The Hague, 1964) pp. 382-91.
24. Wilson (1959) p. 177, also notes that the association between Xhosa and Khoisan must pre-date the period covered by Xhosa genealogies, since they contain names with clicks.
25. Harinck (1969) pp. 151-3. See also L.F. Maingard, "The Linguistic Approach to South African Prehistory and Ethnology", South African Journal of Science xxxi : pp. 132-4, 1934.
26. Peires (1981) p. 65.
27. J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa (London, 1844) p. 231.
28. M. Hirst, personal communication, 8 October 1981.
29. Wilson (1959) p. 177, notes that the Mpondomise depended upon the San as rainmakers. See also F. Brownlee (ed.), The Transkeian Native Territories : Historical Records (Lovedale, 1923) p. 123; Peires (1981) p. 24.
30. Cf. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa (London, 1860) pp. 460-6; H.A. Reyburn, "The Missionary as Rainmaker", The Critic 1 (8) : pp. 146-53, 1933. See also section 2.1.6.
31. M. Hirst, personal communication, 8 October 1981.
32. Mabona (1973) p. 2.
33. M. Hirst, personal communication, 8 October 1981.
34. Cumpsty (1980) pp. 63-5.
35. Ibid., p. 66.
36. M. Hirst, personal communication, 8 October 1981.
37. G.M. Theal (1910) p. 231. See also J. McKay, The Origin of the Xhosa and others (Cape Town, 1911) p. 52.
38. E.g. : J. Campbell, Travels in South Africa, 1813 (London, 1815) p. 192; E. Casalis, The Basutos (London, 1861) pp. 240-1; Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 319-20; W.C. Willoughby, Nature - Worship and Taboo (Hartford, 1932) p. 77.
39. H.M. Ndawo, Uhambo luka Gqoboka (Lovedale, n.d.) ch.1; Nkonki (1968) pp. 30-1.
40. B. Nicholson (1846/7) in Maclean (1858) p. 17. Kropf (1915) p. 154, distinguishes between the use of uhlanga in Xhosa as the place or hole from which all living things came forth originally, and an old stalk of Kaffir-corn or maize. For Zulu meanings of uhlanga see J.W. Colenso, Zulu-English Dictionary (Pietermaritzburg, 1884) p. 201; J.L. Döhne, A Zulu-Kaffir Dictionary (Cape Town, 1857) p. 126; C.M. Doke and B.W. Vilakazi, Zulu-English Dictionary (Johannesburg, 1948) p. 319. For a discussion on the meaning of uhlanga see H. Callaway (1870) pp. 1-2, 76-7, and Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus (London, 1868) p. 72; and W. Wanger, "The Zulu Notion

of God", Anthropos 21 (3-4) : pp. 360-4, 1926.

41. W.C. Holden, The Past, Present and Future of the Kaffir Races (London, 1866) p. 299. See also J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country (London, 1857) p. 159.

42. For examples of these Zulu cosmogonic myths : W.H.I. Bleek, Zulu Legends (Pretoria, 1952) pp. 2-3; A.T. Bryant, A Zulu-English Dictionary (Marianhill, 1905) p. 758; Callaway (1870) ch. 1.; D. Kidd, The Essential Kafir (London, 1904) pp. 100-1, quotes Hahn as suggesting that the Zulus borrowed the myth from the Hottentots. cf. the "creation story" of the Thonga, in which the first human beings came out of the lihlanga, the reed, or the nhlanga, the marsh of reeds : H.A. Junod, The Life of a South African Tribe II (rev. ed., London, 1927) p. 348.

43. For corroborating linguistic evidence see Derricourt (1974) p. 55. B.W. Vilakazi disputes the link of uhlanga with man coming out of beds of reeds, maintaining that language influences the formation of such myths. His meaning of uhlanga is "original stem or ancestry; without beginning or end; eternity". Man is thus created from original material, giving the term a very Christian meaning: "The Oral and Written Literature in Nguni" (unpublished D. Litt. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1946) pp. 144-5.

44. Alberti (1807) p. 13.

45. D. Moodie, The Record : or a series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa (1840; reprint ed., Amsterdam and Cape Town, 1960) p. 431.

46. Mabona (1973) n. 24.

47. E.g. "A Native Lad", "A Native Legend of the Origin of Men and Animals", The Christian Express XXXIII (395) : pp. 122-3, 1 August 1903; J. Campbell, Travels in South Africa ... being a Narrative of a Second Journey, 1820 I (London, 1822) pp. 303, 306; R. Dart, "Rock Engravings", South African Journal of Science XXVII : pp. 475-86, 1931; J.S. Mbiti, Concepts of God in Africa (London, 1970) pp. 151-2; R. Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa (London, 1842) p. 69; J. Mpotokwane, "Native Folklore", MS 1228, Cory Library, Rhodes University, p.18; G.W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa (London, 1905) pp. 261, 432-3; Willoughby (1932) pp. 65-75. H.J. Wikar reports a similar myth among the Hottentots in 1779, The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) edited by E. Mossop (Cape Town, 1935) pp. 95-6; and Stow, for the Bushmen (1905) pp. 3, 130.

48. J.G. Grevenbroek, "An Elegant and Accurate account of the African Race living round the Cape of Good Hope commonly called Hottentots (1695)" in The Early Cape Hottentots, edited by I. Schapera (Cape Town, 1933) p. 259; Stow (1905) p. 545.

49. Interview with M. Hirst, Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town, 26 May 1981. See also H. Kuckertz "A symbol that interprets the World. Ancestor cult and ceremonially drinking beer in Mthwa society" (unpublished paper, Lumko, January 1981). Kuckertz's findings in Mpondoland are that the entrance to the hut faces north-east with the entrance to the cattle-byre almost opposite. Because the men always sit to the left of the entrance of the byre when ritually drinking beer, they look towards the east, facing in the same direction as the grave of the "owner" who is buried beyond the byre.

50. H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa in the Years, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806 I (first published 1812; Cape Town, V.R.S. 10, (1928) p. 314.

51. Campbell (1815) p. 368.
52. J. Ayliff, A Vocabulary of the Kafir Language (London, 1846) pp. v-vi.
53. R.B. Noyi, "Ama-Xosa History", Appendix II in Bokwe (1914) p. 37 (translated by Rev. J. Bennie and first published in the Glasgow Missionary Record, 1848). For details see Hodgson (1982) p. 20. A comparable myth in South West Africa is given by H. Beiderbecke, "Some Religious Ideas and Customs of the Ovaherero", S.A. Folk-Lore Journal II (part 5) : pp. 93-7, Sept, 1880.
54. Tiyo Soga quoted in Chalmers (1877) pp. 354-5. Cf. the "Creation Myth" of the Bayeye : Edwards, "Tradition of the Bayeye", S.A. Folk-Lore Journal II (part 2) : pp. 34-7, March 1880. In contrast, Zulu myths relate the common origin of black and white : Wanger, Anthropos 18-19 (4-6) : p. 684, 1923-24.
55. T. Bain, "The Distribution of Animals, etc., after the Creation, as related by a Kafir", S.A. Folk-Lore Journal II (part 2) : pp. 21-3, March 1880. See Appendix II.
56. J.H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu (Johannesburg, 1930) pp. 59-60.
57. W.K. Kaye, "Of the Creation of People", MS 172c, n.d., Grey Collection, South African Library, pp. 157-164. See Appendix III. The reference to the moon may be of Khoi origin. Grevenbroek (1965) p. 207, notes that when the moon is full, Khoi women "who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness."
58. Wikar (1779) p. 95.
59. Stow (1905) p. 130.
60. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi (London, 1881) pp. 72, 132-4; Mabona (1973) p.6.
61. Kidd (1904) p. 412.
62. Holt (1954) pp. 33-4; S.E.K. Mqhayi, U-Mqhayi wase-Ntab'ozuko (Lovedale, 1939) pp. 64-5.
63. Hahn (1881) pp. 65, 124, 134-5, 145; I Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa : Bushmen and Hottentots (London, 1965) p. 374. See also G.S. Nienaber, Hottentots (Pretoria, 1963).
64. Hahn (1881) pp. 122-4; W. Ten Rhyne, "A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who inhabit that Region (1686)" in Schapera (1933) p. 141.
65. Grevenbroek (1695) p. 193; P. Kolb, The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope (London, 1731) p. 29.
66. Casalis (1861) p. vii.
67. Bryant (1905) p. 130.
68. Grevenbroek (1695) p. 255.
69. Ray (1976) p. 24. See also Nkonki (1968) pp. 42-3.
70. Nkonki (1968) pp. 52-3, 143-7.
71. Grevenbroek (1695) p. 255; report of the Stavenisse crew in 1689, in Moodie (1840) p. 431.
72. Derricourt (1974) p. 56; W. Gqoba, "The Native Tribes, their Laws, Customs and Beliefs", Christian Express xv (179) : p. 93, June 1885; A. Steedman, Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa (London, 1835) pp. 247-8.
73. Wilson (1971) p. 54.
74. Hammond-Tooke (1974) p. 335.
75. See Fig. 3 in Pauw (1975) p. 61.
76. E.g. Berglund (1976) ch. 7; Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 335-9; Pauw (1975) ch. 11. For general information see L. Mair, Witchcraft (London, 1969); M. Marwick (ed.) , Witchcraft and Sorcery (Harmondsworth, 1970); G. Parrinder, Witchcraft :

European and African (London, 1958).

77. Berglund (1976) p. 79.
78. For a general discussion on the different forms of these myths of separation see Mbiti (1970) ch. 15.
79. E.g. Beier (1976) pp. 32-7.
80. Wikar (1779) pp. 139-40; Schapera (1965) pp. 357-8.
81. Nkonki (1968) p. 51.
82. Soga in Chalmers (1877) pp. 356-8. A similar myth was recorded by Casalis (1861) p. 242, among the Sotho.
83. Holden (1866), p. 299. There are numerous Zulu versions of this myth. In these the chameleon wastes time by stopping to eat red berries on the way, e.g. Callaway (1870) pp. 3, 138; A. Gardiner, Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu country in South Africa (London, 1836) p. 178; L.H. Samuelson, Some Zulu Customs and Folk-Lore (London, 1912) p. 66; Shooter (1857) p. 159; Wanger (1926) pp. 351-2, 665. Cf. Thonga : Junod (1927) pp. 350-1.
84. This myth has given rise to the Xhosa proverb, "I have already received the word of the lizard", which is roughly equivalent to "First come first served" : Zonnebloem College Magazine 3 (12) : pp. 9-10, Easter 1905.
85. H. Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine (London, 1977) p. 134.
86. M. Hirst, personal communication, 8 October 1981.
87. Mabona (1973) pp. 7-18.
88. For Tsui//Goab p. 378, and Heitsi Eibib, p. 384, in Schapera (1965).
89. O. Dapper, "Kaffraria or the Land of the Kafirs, also named Hottentots (1668)" in The Early Cape Hottentots, edited by I. Schapera (Cape Town, 1933) p. 63; Ten Rhyne (1686) p. 127; Grevenbroek (1695) pp. 259-61; Kolb (1731) pp. 313-4.
90. Mabona (1973) pp. 10-18.
91. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
92. Alberti (1810) pp. 93-6; J. Barrow, An Account of Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798 II (2 vols., London, 1801 and 1804) pp. 220-1; Campbell (1815) p. 368; Brownlee, pp. 120-2, and Warner, pp. 102-4, in Maclean (1858); Shaw (1860) p. 428; Soga (c 1931) pp. 152-3, 318-24.
93. Grevenbroek (1695) pp. 259-61; Dugmore in Maclean (1858) pp. 165-6.
94. Dugmore in Maclean (1858) p. 165; G.M. Theal, Kaffir Folk Lore (London, 1882) p. 200.
95. Mabona (1973) p.19.
96. Alberti (1810) p. 47. Hirst notes that following the Second Frontier War, Alberti was General Janssen's special representative and much, especially esoteric knowledge, may have been kept from him in his role as "conqueror".
97. F. Le Vaillant, Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa by way of the Cape of Good Hope in the Years 1780, 81, 82, 83, 84 and 85 II (London, 1790) p. 344.
98. C.F. Damberger, Travels in the Interior of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco, from the years 1781 to 1797 (London, 1801) p. 106.
99. H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 I (2 vols., 1812-15; trans. A. Plumptre, reprinted V.R.S. 10, Cape Town, 1928-30) pp. 301, 311.
100. Campbell (1815) p. 365.

101. C. Rose, Four Years in Southern Africa (London, 1829) p. 81.
102. Barrow II (1804) p. 214.
103. Vanderkemp, Entries in Journal for 15 April 1800, p. 416, and 15 September 1799, p. 397, and "An Account of the Religion" : Transactions I, p. 432.
104. This is discussed below under the concept of Qamata.
105. Opland (1971) p. 174. For a general discussion on Xhosa praise-poetry see Opland (1983).
106. R. Finnegan, Oral Literature in Africa (Oxford, 1970) pp. 118 and 134-5.
107. Ibid., pp. 58-9.
108. Berglund (1976) p. 35.
109. Bishop Colenso quoted by Wanger, Anthropos 18-19 (4-6) : p. 673, 1923-24.
110. "List of African Peoples, their Countries and Names for God", Mbiti (1970) pp. 328-36.
111. W.J. Davis, Dictionary of the Kafir Language (London, 1872) p. 36; Kropf (1915) p. 71.
112. Interview with Prof. H.W. Pahl, Fort Hare, 8 February 1982.
113. Kropf (1915) pp. 95-6.
114. Shaw (1860) p. 451.
115. Holden (1866) p. 299.
116. J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 150.
117. Döhne (1844) p. 55.
118. Kay (1833) p. 339.
119. Hunter (1936/1961) p. 269.
120. Bryant (1905) p. 90; Callaway (1870) p. 89; Colenso (1884) pp. 92 and 325; Döhne (1857) pp. 57-8 and 73; Doke and Vilakazi (1948) pp. 137 and 191.
121. Schneider (1891), possibly following Döhne, also claims that they were introduced by the missionaries; but Wanger marshals all the evidence together in a convincing argument to show that they were traditional praise-names :Anthropos 18-19 (4-6) : p. 678, 1923-4, and 21 (3-4) : pp. 355-60, 1923-4.
122. Berglund (1976) pp. 35-6.
123. Bettison (1954) p. 4; Bigalke (1969) pp. 70-3.
124. Pauw (1975) p. 77.
125. Wanger, Anthropos 21 (3-4) : p. 356, 1926.
126. Mbiti (1970) pp. 45-8, 327-36.
127. Livingstone quoted in T.B. Jenkinson, Amazulu: the Zulus, their Past History, Manners, Customs and Language (London, 1882) p. 32. See also D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (London, 1857) pp. 158 and 641.
128. Holden (1866) p. 299; Shaw (1860) p. 451. J. Brownlee gives the meaning as Supreme, in G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa II (London, 1827) p. 448.
129. H. Callaway, "On the Religious Sentiment amongst the Tribes of South Africa", The Cape Monthly Magazine 2 : pp. 92-3, 1880. The Mpondo concept of uHlanga is given on p.100.
130. Kropf (1915) p. 303.
131. For a comprehensive discussion on the meaning of Unkulunkulu see Wanger (1926).
132. H. Sawyerr, God : Ancestor or Creator? Aspects of traditional belief in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (London, 1970).
133. Kay (1833) p. 149.
134. Moffat (1842) p. 68.
135. Kay (1833) p. 240.
136. J. Bennie, letter dated 20 March 1822, Report of the Glasgow

Missionary Society, Appendix : p. 29, 1822.

137. Mbiti (1970) pp. 132-3.
138. Schapera (1965) pp. 173-7.
139. E.W. Smith (ed.), African Ideas of God (London, 1950) p. 101. cf. similar Sotho ideas about the location of God: K. Nurnberger, "The Sotho Notion of the Supreme Being and the Impact of the Christian Proclamation", Journal of Religion in Africa VII (fasc. 3) : p. 184, 1975; Setiloane (1976) p. 78.
140. Brownlee (1827) p. 449.
141. Callaway (1870) p. 82 ; D. Leslie, Among the Zulus and Amatongas (London, 1875) p. 207; Shooter (1857) p. 159. Wanger notes that uHlanga can also figure as uLuHlanga and argues that it is not the principal Xhosa and Zulu God-name as some would suggest : Anthropos 21 (3-4) : pp. 360-1, 1926.
142. Berglund (1976) pp. 35-6.
143. Mbiti (1970) p. 333.
144. Döhne (1857) p. 672.
145. Brownlee (1955) p. 38.
146. E. Dammann, "A Tentative Philological Typology of some African High Deities", Journal of Religion in Africa II : pp. 81-95, 1969. See also E. Dammann, "Die Religiöse Bedeutung des Bantuwortstammes-Lungu", Ex Orbe Religionum (1922) pp. 207-17; Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 320-1; Mbiti (1970) ch. 12.
147. Mclaren (1918) pp. 421-2.
148. Brownlee (1955) p. 38.
149. Davis (1872) p. 42; Kropf (1915) p. 86.
150. Kidd (1904) pp. 119-20; J.H. Soga (c 1931) pp. 213-6. cf. the Bhaca - W.D. Hammond-Tooke, Bhaca Society (Cape Town, 1962) p. 282; Bomvana - Cook (n.d.) pp. 134-5; Lovedu - E.J. and J.D. Krige, The Realm of a Rain Queen (London, 1943) p. 254; Thonga - Junod (1927) pp. 428-47; Zulu - Berglund (1976) pp. 38-9; Callaway (1870) pp. 117-24; General - H.P. Junod, Bantu Heritage (Johannesburg, 1938) pp. 134-6; Willoughby (1932) pp. 91-6.
151. E.g. M. Bourke, Badoli the Ox (Cape Town, n.d.) pp. 25-9; M.L. Hewat, Bantu Folk Lore (Cape Town n.d.) p. 91; Werner (1933) ch. 15.
152. R. Godfrey, Bird-lore of the Eastern Cape Province (Johannesburg, 1941) pp. 2-3; Kropf (1915) p. 342.
153. Bokwe (1914) p. 3.
154. Shaw (1860) pp. 454-5.
155. Kropf (1915) p. 194.
156. Döhne (1844) p. 56. The Xhosa king was also known by this title.
157. Hunter (1936/1961) p. 270.
158. Warner in Maclean (1866) p. 85.
159. Dwane (1979) p. 221.
160. Fr. A. Fischer, personal communication, 1 March 1982.
161. Ten Rhyne (1686) pp. 139-41.
162. Hunter (1936/1961) p. 270.
163. Interview with Prof. M. Wilson (née Hunter), Hogsback, 20 July 1979.
164. J.W. Colenso, Ten Weeks in Natal (Cambridge, 1855) quoted in Wanger, Anthropos 18-19 (4-6) : p. 666, 1923-4.
165. Callaway (1870) pp. 117-25.
166. Wanger describes the oath-taking ritual in detail : Anthropos 21 (3-4) : pp. 374-5, 1926.
167. Ibid., p. 375. Wanger gives five other Zulu God-names

connected with iNkosi yezulu.

168. Berglund (1976) ch. 2.

169. Mbiti (1970) p. 130. See also Dammann (1969) pp. 81-95.

170. Vanderkemp, "An Account of the Religion", Transactions I : p. 433.

171. Brownlee's notes, pp. 124-5, and Warner's notes, pp. 85-6, in Maclean (1858); Lichtenstein (1812-15) I : p. 318. See also J.H. Soga (c 1931) pp. 213-4.

172. Information obtained by Fr. A. Fischer and Dr. E. Weiss : personal communication, 1 March 1982.

173. Brownlee in Maclean (1858) p. 125, and (1955) p. 38.

174. Shaw (1860) p. 454-5.

175. Callaway (1870) pp. 117-8. See also Samuelson (1912) pp. 51-2. For the Sotho - Casalis (1861) p. 242. cf. the Nuer beliefs about the "colwic" spirits, i.e. the people who were killed by lightning and became "Spirits of the Above" : Evans-Pritchard (1956) pp. 52-62.

176. Brownlee in Maclean (1858) p. 125, and (1955) p. 38. Cattle burials have been excavated by archaeologists near Middledrift in Ciskei, dating between 1670 and 1760 A.D. They are sometimes accompanied by human burials, and are thought to have been carried out by pre-Nguni pastoralists, possibly as part of a funeral feast. I suggest that they could have been associated with death by lightning : Derricourt (1970) pp. 142-4, 155-9, 217.

177. Wanger, Anthropos 21 (3-4) : p. 375, 1926.

178. Döhne (1844) pp. 56-7.

179. J.K. Bokwe, "Remarks", G. 66-'83, Report on Proceedings with Appendices on the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, 1883, Appendix B, p.21.

180. Rose (1829) p. 145.

181. Lichtenstein (1812-15) I : p. 318.

182. There are many other practices associated with lightning : J.H. Soga (c 1931) pp. 214-6. See also Cook (n.d.) pp 134-7; Godfrey (1941) pp. 2-3.

183. Wanger, Anthropos 21 (3-4) : p. 375, 1926.

184. Berglund (1976) pp. 37-42.

185. Early evidence : Callaway (1868) pp. 152-3. Later evidence : Berglund (1976) p. 32; Pauw (1975) p. 132. For African myths and legends about the heaven country : Werner (1933) ch. 4.

186. Schapera (1965) pp. 172-7, 374-6, 413-7.

187. J.H. Soga (c 1931) pp. 419-20. cf. Callaway (1870) p. 396; Kidd (1904) pp. 108-9.

188. It was either called Ikwezi or Ucel'izapolo, meaning "the one who asks for a little milk from the teat". For further information on Xhosa cosmology : J. McLaren, A Xhosa Grammar (London, 1940) p. 218; "Notes on Star-lore", The Cape Quarterly Review 1 : pp. 53-5, Oct. 1881; J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 419; Theal (1910) p. 248.

189. At the appearance of the Pleiades the Khoi mothers took their babies to an elevated spot and taught them to stretch their hands towards the "friendly stars". Meanwhile the people of the kraal danced and sang and prayed to Tiqua (Tsui//Goab) for rain and food : Schapera (1965) p. 378.

190. Kropf (1915) p. 216.

191. For further information on iSilimela : Brownlee in Thompson (1827) pp. 452-3; Bud-M'Belle (1903) p. xiv; Callaway (1870) p. 397 n. 58; Campbell (1815) p. 370; Kropf (1915), p. 216;

J.H. Soga (c1931) p. 419. There are comparable ideas about the Pleiades among other African people, e.g. H. Ashton, The Basuto (London, 1952) p. 123; Junod (1927) p. 309; E.J. Krige, The Social System of the Zulus (2nd ed., Pietermaritzburg, 1950) p. 190; W.C. Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu (London, 1928) pp. 220-1. The early winter rising and spring setting of the Pleiades were important dates to the farmers in Ancient Greece too.

192. Callaway, "Religious Sentiment", CCM 2 : pp. 99-100, 1880.

193. Berglund (1976) pp. 33-5; Wanger, Anthropos 21 (3-4) : pp. 353-4, 1926.

194. Kropf (1915) pp. 451, 282. See also Davis (1872) pp. 147, 234. Berglund notes that with the Zulu it refers to the first-born of twins and that there is an association of ideas with the sky. Callaway was told by a missionary among the Zulu that they used the praise-name for the heir of the chieftainship when he assumed the government on the death of his father. For references in the Zulu tradition : Bryant (1905) pp. 397, 444, 677-8; Colenso (1884) p. 380; Döhne (1857) p. 364; Doke and Vilakazi (1948) pp. 591, 832.

195. Kropf (1915) p. 199.

196. Wanger argues convincingly against the meaning as being "the old-old one" as given by Callaway (1870) p.1 : Anthropos 20 (3-4) : p. 569, 1925.

197. Callaway (1880) pp. 99-101. See also Callaway (1870) part I.

198. In his version of the Zulu cosmogonic myth, Leslie (1875) pp. 207-8, gives the relationship between uMvelinqangi and Uhlanga.

199. Wanger, Anthropos 18-19 (4-6) : pp. 656-87, 1923-24; 20 (3-4) : pp. 558-78, 1925; 21 (3-4) : pp. 351-85, 1926.

200. Berglund (1976) p. 36.

201. Callaway (1880) pp. 99, 101.

202. Döhne (1844) p. 386; Kropf (1915) p. 488.

203. Döhne (1844) p. 259; Kropf (1915) p. 310.

204. Callaway (1880) pp. 101-2.

205. Döhne (1844) p. 336; Kropf (1915) p. 401. Ntaba was a praise-name of the Xhosa paramount Sarhili (Kreli).

206. Callaway (1880) p. 101. For further discussion see Hodgson (1982) p. 61 n. 131.

207. Communication from Prof. H.W. Pahl, Director of the Xhosa Dictionary Project, University of Fort Hare, 18 October 1978; and discussion with Prof. Pahl, Mr. O.B. Mpondo and Mr. T.A. Ndungane at Fort Hare, 8 February 1982. See Appendix IV.

208. C. Ehret, "Language evidence and Religious History" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) pp. 45-9.

209. Harinck (1969) pp. 150-2. See also J.A. Louw, The Nomenclature of Cattle in the South Eastern Bantu Languages (Communications of Unisa, C2, 1957).

210. Callaway (1870) pp. 64-5; J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 150; Theal (1882) pp. 19-20.

211. Dammann notes that a surprising number of designations for the High God in Africa have been borrowed from foreign languages and gives examples including uThixo : Journal of Religion in Africa 2 : pp. 81-95, 1969.

212. H. Callaway, "South African Folk-lore", Cape Monthly Magazine n.s. 16 : p. 110 1878; G.M. Theal, "Sparks from Kafir Anvils", Cape Monthly Magazine n.s. 16: p. 191, 1878.

213. Maingard (1934) pp. 135-7. cf. similar taboos among other blacks : McVeigh (1974) p. 61; Pauw (1960) pp. 31-2; Setiloane

(1976) p. 85.

214. Nkonki (1968) pp. 28, 50. See also Theal, CMM n.s. 16: p. 192, 1878; and interview with A.M.S. Sityana (praise-poet), Fort Hare, 16 July 1979.

215. E.g. Interviews with Rev. C.C.M.D. Hoyana, East London, 5 August 1978, and A.M.S. Sityana, 16 July 1979. See also Dwane (1979) pp. 10-11, 221.

216. Maingard (1934) p. 135.

217. Kidd (1904) p. 101.

218. "It is a perfect dome, with a dyke of igneous rock, like the raised ridge of a helmet, passing right over the highest part" : McLaren (1940) p. 418. This mountain was visited during research.

219. H.T. Waters, G.66- '83, Commission on Native Laws and Customs, p. 358.

220. T.Hahn, "The Graves of Heitsi-eibib", Cape Monthly Magazine XVI : pp. 259-65 1873; Hahn (1881) pp. 91-94. See also Dapper (1668) p. 75 n. 84; Moodie (1840) entry for 5 October 1655. G.S. Nienaber and P. Raper give the meaning of !homi or qhomi as mountain : Toponymica Hottentotica no. 10 (Pretoria, 1980) p. 419.

221. Hahn (1873) p. 259, and (1881) p. 94.

222. Mabona (1973) p. 7 and notes 33 and 34 : "The whole Nguni group believed that the sky was a big revolving vault of blue stone, which harboured numerous inhabitants under the formidable sky chief who wielded thunder and lightning and all the heavenly phenomenon."

223. Nienaber and Raper II (1977) p. 989.

224. This discussion is based on Schapera (1965) pp. 184-5, 188-9, 194-5, 396-7.

225. Ibid., pp. 387-9.

226. "D", "Reminiscences of an old Kafir", Cape Monthly Magazine 3 : p. 294, Nov. 1880.

227. For a discussion on the use of Nkulunkulu to denote an original ancestor : Berglund (1976) p. 36; Callaway (1870) part 1; Kidd (1904) pp. 96-101; Krige (1936) pp. 280-3.

228. Theal (1882) pp. 19-20; and CMM n.s. 16 : pp. 191-2, 1878.

229. amaggirha - traditional doctors or diviners. In Damara/Nama the diviner is also called ggirha.

230. Callaway, CMM 2 : pp. 94-5, 1880.

231. Nkonki (1968) p. 28. See also Kidd (1904) p. 101; Kropf (1915) p. 347; Theal, CMM n.s. 16 : p. 191, 1878.

232. Callaway, CMM 2 : pp. 93-4, 1880.

233. Kropf (1915) p. 347 and(1889); McLaren (1940) p. 418.

234. Kidd (1904) p. 101.

235. W.K.Kay, "The origin of the Kaffir chiefs, etc.", MS 172c, Grey Collection.

236. Tyler notes that "sneezing is regarded by the Zulus as an indication of good health, and immediately after this operation they ejeculate thanks to the spirits of the ancestors. The exclamation often is : "Spirits of our people, grant me long life" The time spent in sneezing is considered lucky, for then the spirits are more benevolent than at other times" : J. Tyler, Forty Years Among the Zulus (Boston and Chicago, 1891) p. 110. See also McLaren (1918) p. 423.

237. Callaway, CMM 2 : p. 97, 1880.

238. Kropf (1915) p. 128 : -tela : to pour into, p.40.

239. Berglund (1976) p. 85.

240. Interview with M. Hirst, Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town, 26 May 1981. Bigalke found that among the Ndlambe people near East London it was the "Red" (traditional) men and women over 50 who knew of Qamata. Younger people referred to Thixo and Mdali : (1969) p. 70.
241. "D", CMM 3 : pp. 293-4, 1880. For a general discussion on intermediaries in the worship of God see Mbiti (1970) ch. 19.
242. I am indebted to Dr. J. Peires for this insight : Communication, 1 January 1982.
243. Falati (1895) p. 1. Falati goes on to describe the manner of her death, pinioned on a red-hot rock to bake in the sun.
244. Peires (1981) p. 8.
245. Ibid., pp. 33, 64. See also J.H. Soga (c1931) p. 175.
246. Entries for 30 October and 2 November 1800, Vanderkemp's Journal : Transactions I , p. 427.
247. E.g. Alberti (1810) p. 52; Backhouse (1844) p. 278; Lichtenstein (1812-15) I : pp. 316-7.
248. Shaw (1860) pp. 450-6.
249. Ibid., pp. 462-3. Holden (1866) pp. 309-11, gives a comparable account of a dispute between Livingstone and a Bechuana rainmaker.
250. Callaway, CMM 2 : pp. 94-5, 1880.
251. J.J.R. Jolobe, "Thuthula", quoted in Dwane (1979) p. 45.
252. Warner's notes in Maclean (1858) p. 62; J.H. Soga (c1931) p. 62.
253. The place mentioned is Mncotsho near Berlin, a small town between East London and King William's Town: Dwane (1979) p. 18. For burial places of chiefs see F. Brownlee, African Affairs 43 : pp. 23-4, 1944.
254. Pauw (1975) p. 63.
255. Fawcett (1970) pp. 122-3.
256. Raum and de Jager (1972) p. 191.
257. Interview with Father A. Fischer, McKay's Nek Mission, Transkei, 5 August 1981.
258. Imvo Zabantsundu, 15 February 1964, quoted in Pauw (1975) p. 81. Fr. Fischer suggests that the text should be translated as "you will be healthy".
259. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, KwaGwali, 18 February 1980. The chief is a leading member of the Order of Ethiopia. Fr. D.J. Dargie was told by Mrs. M. Kape, of Ngqoko in the Lumko district, Transkei, about the iTheko ceremonies for petitioning Qamata to make the ancestors attentive to the needs of their people in times of dire misfortune : 20 November 1984. The ritual is spread over 3 occasions, which can be a month or even a year apart depending on the finances of the petitioners. The first event is an ancestral beer feast at home accompanied by the umngqunggo dance (round dance done by senior ladies at the girls' initiation rites and various other occasions). The second ancestor ritual also takes place at home and involves the slaughtering of a goat with beer drinking and dancing. The third event is an ancestral type beer feast with the slaughtering of an ox on the mountain. This lasts through the night and there is dancing again as well as petitions to Qamata to send the ancestors to help them in their need.
260. Schapera (1965) pp. 378-83.
261. Laubscher (1937) pp. 106-9.
262. Kropf (1915) p. 408. See also Davis (1872) p. 212; Döhne (1857) p. 412.

263. Berglund (1976) pp. 44-6.
264. Tyler (1891) p. 111.
265. Berglund (1976) p. 44.
266. Schapera (1965) pp. 378-80.
267. Berglund (1976) p. 46.
268. Mbiti (1970) p. 225.
269. Malan (1968) pp. 15-7. See also T.B. Soga (1936) p. 92. J.H. Soga gives a very prejudiced account of the Xhosa rainmaker, and makes no mention of Qamata : (c 1931) pp. 175-7.
270. Malan (1968) p. 14.
271. Callaway (1870) p. 18.
272. Hammond-Tooke (1978) pp. 144-6.
273. Callaway, CMM 2 : p. 96, 1880. Raum and de Jager (1972) p. 185, report that nowadays homesteads can be dedicated to Qamata or the ancestors. In this dedication, ukwazisa, the offering is a slaughtered goat and brewed beer.
274. Kropf (1915) p. 404. Döhne believes it to be a figurative meaning taken from the custom of turning round or bending over during prayer : (1857) p. 338.
275. Ibid., p. 202.
276. Ibid., p. 204.
277. Callaway, CMM 2 : p. 98, 1880.
278. For a discussion on the tradition of Heitsi Eibib :D.R. Bengston "Three African Religious Founders", Journal of Religion in Africa VII (fasc.1) : 16-26; Schapera (1965) pp. 373-4, 383-6. See also C.R. Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia made between the years 1770 and 1779 II (2nd ed., London, 1975) p. 96.
279. Stow (1905) p. 127.
280. E.g. Backhouse (1844) p. 231; Kay (1833) pp. 211-2; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 313; Rose (1829) p. 147; A. Sparrman, A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-6 II (Dublin, 1785) pp. 201-3.
281. Nkonki (1968) p. 50.
282. In the Khoi prayers Heitsi Eibib is addressed as "our Grandfather" and is asked for luck in hunting and success in finding honey and roots : Hahn (1881) p. 69.
283. Bokwe (1914) p. 3; Cook (n.d.) p. 96; McLaren (1940) p. 424 (he adds that the stone was sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth); Theal (1882) p. 20.
284. Kropf (1915) p. 454.
285. Hunter records a lengthier prayer among the Mpondo : "Look upon me God (Thixo) of our people. I ask strength of you, you God who created us in the earth. Look upon us. Give us to eat" : (1961), p. 270.
286. A.T. Bryant, The Zulu People (Pietermaritzburg, 1949) p. 732; Doke and Vilakazi (1948) p. 836; Jenkinson (1882) p. 33; Leslie (1875) p. 146.
287. Bryant (1905) p. 682; Callaway (1870) pp. 66-7; Kidd (1904) pp. 263-7; Willoughby (1932) pp. 20-33. For a general discussion on izivivane in Southern Africa see N.J. van Warmelo, "A Tale of a Heap of Stones", Africana Notes and News 16 : pp. 278-83, 1964-65.
288 E.g. Genesis 31 : 46,48,52.
289. Bryant (1949) p. 732.
290. Berglund (1976) pp. 334-5.
291. Wilson (1971) p. 65.
292. Dwane (1979) pp. 17-21. For a general discussion on the

hierarchy of forces see Tempels (1959).

293. Nürnberger (1975) p. 187; Mbiti (1970) pp. 230-3; Pauw (1960) p. 31.
294. Dwane (1979) p. 20; J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 150.
295. S.J. Wallis (ed.), Inkolo Namasiko aBantu (London, 1930) p.1.
296. "Some Native Beliefs", Zonnebloem College Magazine 3 (12) : p.10, Easter 1905.
297. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe (Xhosa historian, author, poet), KwaGwali, 25 October 1978.
298. For a full discussion on the traditional status of a chief see Peires (1981) pp. 27-42.
299. Dwane (1979) p. 221.
300. Interview with Prof. Z.S. Qangule and B. Somhlahlo, Fort Hare, 25 October 1978.
301. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, KwaGwali, 25 October 1978.
302. Dwane's discussion on the understanding of sin in the Xhosa tradition seems to show signs of Christian influence too : (1979) pp. 42-6.
303. Hammond-Tooke in Argyle and Preston-Wyhte (1978) p. 138.
304. Peires, communication, 1 January 1982.
305. Wilson indicates some of the causes to which the ancestors have been linked in recent times : (1971) pp. 41-2.
306. Hahn (1881); Schapera (1965) pp. 376-89. For a general discussion : Callaway (1870) pp. 110-1; Maingard (1934) pp. 135-6; Smith (1950) pp. 92-98. cf. the Tsonga title of Tilo which is apparently the personification of the sky: Hammond-Tooke (1974) p. 321.
307. Schapera (1965) pp. 376-8.
308. Hahn (1881) pp. 65, 92, 124; Schapera (1965) p. 378.
309. Hahn gives one form of prayer sung on such occasions : (1881) pp. 58-9.
310. Schapera (1965) pp. 379-81.
311. R. Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion", Africa 45 (3) : pp. 226-7, 1975.
312. Entry for 25 September 1799, Vanderkemp's Journal : Transactions I, p. 397.
313. Entry for 15 April 1800, ibid., p. 416.
314. Vanderkemp, "An Account of the Religion" : Transactions I,p. 432.
315. W.H.I. Bleek, "Researches into the Relations between the Hottentots and Kafirs", Cape Monthly Magazine 1 : pp. 200-1. See also Callaway (1870) pp. 105-16.
316. Callaway quoting a Ngqika informant, St Luke's mission station, British Kaffraria, 1875 : (1880) p. 94.
317. Entry for 15 April 1800, Vanderkemp's Journal : Transactions I, p. 416. Moffat, quoted in Cape Quarterly Review I : p. 564 and Callaway (1870) p. 107, also give the meaning as "one who inflicts pain, or a sore knee", probably following Vanderkemp.
318. Brownlee in Thompson (1827) pp. 448-9.
319. Ti being the possessive pronoun "my" and xwa meaning "arm or strength".
320. For a discussion on the difficulties involved in finding suitable words in Xhosa to convey Christian concepts : Williams (1960) pp. 200-1, 292.
321. Callaway (1870) pp. 110, 116.
322. Shaw (1860) pp. 451-2.
323. Ayliff (1846) p.v. See also Willoughby (1928) p. 181 n.6.

324. Callaway (1870) pp. 64-5. For information on modern concepts of Thixo see Olivier (1981) ch. 2.
325. C. Brownlee, "A Fragment on Xhosa Religious Beliefs,"African Studies 14 (1) : p. 38, 1955.
326. Kay (1833) p. 339.
327. Hunter (1961) p. 270.
328. Cook (n.d.) pp. 103, 106. In 1879, Callaway collected two songs which were supposedly sung by the Xhosa before the coming of the missionaries; and the one refers to "The Renowned One" coming from beyond the sea in a ship, according to his translation : S.A. Folk-Lore Journal II (part 4) : pp. 56-60, July 1880.
329. This discussion is based on Malan (1968) pp. 17-19. See also Olivier (1981) p.11.
330. Kropf (1915) p. 445.
331. T. Soga in Chalmers (1877) pp. 356-7.
332. Schapera (1965) pp. 387-9.
333. Barrow II (1804) p. 214.
334. For a discussion on comparative beliefs among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa see Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 320-1.
335. Ehret in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) p. 46.
336. Cf. Solomon's 300 or more wives and 700 concubines, and the heresy and schism they introduced into Israel.
337. Cumpsty (1980) p. 62, who gives the example of the way in which the symbols of Hebrew-Christianity influenced the Graeco-Roman world.
338. J.S. Mbiti, New Testament Eschatology in an African Background (London, 1971) pp. 94-5.
339. Dr. J. Peires, personal communication, 25 July 1983.
340. For further information on the present use of the God-name Qamata see Hodgson (1982) pp. 104-7.

2. MISSIONARY AGENTS OF CHANGE AND THE INITIAL RESPONSE OF THE XHOSA

2.1 DR J.T. VANDERKEMP AND THE FIRST MISSION TO THE XHOSA : 1799 - 1801

The life and work of Dr Johannes Theodorus Vanderkemp (1) have been the subject of numerous studies : biographical (2) and fictional (3) as well as in the wider context of the missionary movement in South Africa in the early nineteenth century. (4) In evaluating his contribution as a missionary, however, the focus has invariably been on his ministry to the Khoi and his political involvement in championing their cause between 1801 and his death in 1811. In contrast, his earlier mission to the Xhosa, from September 1799 to December 1800, has generally been regarded as a failure meriting little attention.

In this section I will attempt to show the importance of Vanderkemp's work among the Xhosa as an agent of religious change. Of particular interest is the way in which he presented the gospel to the Xhosa, and their response. The questions I will be asking follow two main themes: what did the Xhosa choose to hear, and what did they choose not to hear? In other words, what were the unintended consequences both in terms of the social impact and in what the Xhosa selected to hear, and why in fact did Vanderkemp not succeed better than he did?

Vanderkemp's own journal provides the source material on his preaching and teaching. It also gives some indication of the inital response of the Xhosa, while later missionary writing gives a longer view. In addition, information has been drawn from various strands of the Xhosa oral tradition.

2.1.1 Background

Vanderkemp was born in Rotterdam in 1747, the son of a minister and theologian in the Lutheran Church. He studied medicine, philosophy and theology at Leiden University but left before completing his degree to enter the army. By his own admission he led a dissolute life during his years as an army officer, and fathered an illegitimate child. (5) His marriage to a cotton-spinner in 1780 displeased his superiors and he subsequently resigned his commission. After two years in Edinburgh he completed his medical studies and set up practice in Holland. He later left medicine for philosophy.

Vanderkemp was a full member of the Dutch Reformed Church; but he turned from Christianity to become a disciple of the Greek philosopher Parmenides, and developed the idea of a Universal Being. (6) He described himself as a deist, denying the doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ and the authority of the scriptures. He was also greatly influenced by the eighteenth century French philosophers and subscribed to their ideas of liberty and equality. His religious beliefs were radically changed, however, by the tragic death of his wife and daughter in a boating accident in 1791 when he alone was saved. During a week-long spiritual crisis following the incident he experienced the presence of Christ and a cleansing from sin. This led to his "renunciation of all dependence on human merit, and his entire reliance on the atonement of Christ, as the sole ground of his acceptance with God". (7)

During the revolutionary wars Vanderkemp served somewhat reluctantly as an army doctor. Afterwards he returned to a study of Oriental languages and the completion of a commentary on Romans. It was at this time that he became interested in mission work and a pamphlet put out by the newly constituted London Society inspired him to offer his services either in Persia or at the Cape.

In line with the Evangelism of the eighteenth century, Vanderkemp came to lay great emphasis on personal conversion, and on faith in the saving gospel of Christ, rather than on good works. For him "the word" as expressed in preaching and prayer rather than priestly administered sacraments was the main channel of God's grace. (8) Before the Evangelical revival it was right behaviour that had counted. Now it was right belief. But for all Evangelicism's emphasis on faith as trust in the redeeming work of Jesus, the period is marked by a fervour, a restless energy, which seemed to make works a sine qua non of faith: perhaps one of the roots of the so-called Protestant ethic.

Vanderkemp believed that the chief object of Christ's doctrine was "to demonstrate the justice of God, both in condemning and in saving the children of men"; and considered that "faith in Christ may be produced without an explicit view of the Christian system, only by representing Christ as the proper object of faith. Hence gospel preaching proves in the hand of the Spirit, the instrument of exciting faith as easily in the rudest barbarian, as in the most learned Greek". (9) Consequently he became convinced of the need to proclaim "the gospel of peace" to all men, regardless of colour,

and felt called "to go to the heathen". (10)

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was one of the most famous of the many missionary societies that flowered during the Evangelical Revival. It began as a non-denominational body but soon became Congregationalist in persuasion. Its sole aim was "to spread the knowledge of Christ among the heathen and other unenlightened nations". (11) Although Vanderkemp refused to be bound by any church creed, his beliefs satisfied the doctrinal requirements of the LMS. Moreover, as a Dutchman fluent in English he was thought eminently suited to pioneer the Cape mission because the British had occupied the former Dutch colony since 1795. He was ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland in London in November 1798, and returned briefly to Holland to establish a missionary society and recruit assistants before leaving for the Cape. Together with another Dutchman and two Englishmen he set sail on a convict ship. He was fifty-two years old.

2.1.2 The Coming of Nyengana

Vanderkemp arrived in Cape Town at the end of March 1799 and spent the next two months preparing for his mission. He was sympathetically received by the local Dutch clergy who assisted him in founding the first South African missionary society. (12) Vanderkemp sent two of his party north on an exploratory journey to the Bushmen, while he and John Edmonds planned to go east to the Xhosa. Travellers' reports had led him to believe that the Xhosa occupied a vast area stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, and he envisaged the Xhosa mission opening the way to the evangelization of the rest of Africa. His preparation included lessons in the Xhosa language from a visiting frontier farmer. (13)

It was a time of political turbulence on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. The burghers in Graaff Reinet had been in a state of rebellion when the British took over in 1795, and they rose against the government once more in 1799 and in 1801. (14) The second burgher rebellion was put down in April 1799 but this in turn triggered off the Third Frontier War. At this stage the frontier was open with Xhosa living alongside colonists in the Zuurveld to the west of the Great Fish River. But inevitiably competition for land and cattle between these rival groups of pastoralists led to increasing friction and there had been intermittent conflict since 1779. (15) With the outbreak of war in 1799 the Zuurveld Xhosa were

joined by large numbers of Khoi who were rebelling against their colonial masters in a bid for independence. (16) Hostilities continued spasmodically until the end of 1802.

Within Xhosaland (emaXhoseni, lit. at the place where the Xhosa are) tension had built up over the leadership of the Rharhabe chiefdom. Rharhabe, son of Phalo, the Xhosa paramount in the mid-eighteenth century, had originally fallen out with his brother, Gcaleka, in about 1770, and had crossed west of the Great Kei River. This had laid the foundation for the division of the Xhosa between the Gcaleka in Transkei and the Rharhabe in Ciskei. But successive Gcaleka chiefs retained ritual seniority as paramount of all the Xhosa. Rharhabe, and his Great Son Mlawu, were killed in battle against the Thembu in 1782. Ngqika was the heir but his uncle, Ndlambe, took over as regent during his minority, and was responsible for the rise to power of the Rharhabe over the other Xhosa chiefdoms in the west. However, in 1795, Ngqika ousted Ndlambe from the regency and took over as paramount. Ndlambe, who had been kept in custody, escaped early in 1800 and settled with his followers in the Zuurveld from where he took an active part in the war. Ngqika, aged about twenty, was now at the height of his power. (17)

It seems that the government initially favoured Vanderkemp's mission in the hope that he would be useful as an intermediary with the Xhosa and the Khoi, and would help to bring stability to their social order. (18) General Dundas, the acting governor, promised his protection and gave Vanderkemp letters directing the frontier officials to assist him on his journey to "Caffraria".

Vanderkemp left Cape Town with Edmonds at the end of May 1799. They were accompanied by Khoi interpreters and guides including Bruntjie, an elephant hunter, and Valentine Hartenberg, who had been seconded from the Moravian mission at Baviaans Kloof (Genadendal). The party met with problems all along the way. At Graaff Reinet the landdrost tried to dissuade them from proceeding and they were only allowed to continue provided they obtained Ngqika's permisssion before entering his country. Fugitive burghers beyond the Great Fish River were even more discouraging, while some were decidedly hostile. (19)

Bruntjie was sent with some friendly Xhosa to negotiate with Ngqika. The chief responded encouragingly by sending his tobacco box as "a passport". But they were unable to proceed because of frontier hostilities. The Khoi had joined forces with the Xhosa and were on the

rampage. Vanderkemp was persuaded to accompany the waggon-loads of colonists who were fleeing to the Tarka. When they were attacked en route he gave his guides guns, but he refused to take up arms as he said he had no quarrel with the Xhosa. (20)

When peace was established at the end of August, Vanderkemp immediately made a move to enter Xhosaland. Edmonds was a reluctant companion but had no choice but to continue. After crossing the Fish River they came to a war-ravaged land. The colonists' houses were burnt to the ground while the cornfields and cattle-kraals were still smouldering. They ascended the "Kacha hoogte" for a view of Xhosaland and Vanderkemp, typical of his era, was reminded of Bunyan's "hill of Difficulty". Travelling via the Kat River valley they finally arriyed at Ngqika's cattle post at Tyhume on 30 September. (21)

Vanderkemp's first meeting with Ngqika was inauspicious. After handing over the tobacco box, filled with buttons, there was a long silent wait until Coenraad de Buys came forward as interpreter. He was a giant of a man, (22) who had persistently fallen foul of the frontier authorities and had eventually taken refuge with Ngqika, together with a number of other rebel frontiersmen and army deserters. (23) De Buys had become adviser to Ngqika, assisted no doubt by a liaison with the chief's mother. (24)

Vanderkemp told Ngqika that he had come "to instruct him and his people in matters which could make them happy in this life, and after death". He asked only that he might settle in the chief's land, be assured of his protection and freedom to leave when he wished. He explained to de Buys that the Lord had sent him to preach the gospel to the Xhosa, after he had learnt their language. De Buys was sympathetic but cautioned that it was an inopportune time. Ngqika agreed saying that not even he could find safety and advised Vanderkemp to leave. Nonetheless, the missionaries were allowed to outspan and to pitch their tent.

Vanderkemp was kept waiting for more than a fortnight while Ngqika debated his future. The chief was highly suspicious of the missionaries' motives, believing that it was an English strategy to betray the Xhosa. A fugitive frontiersman aggravated the situation by representing the missionaries as spies and assassins, and their lives were in danger. Only Ngqika's sister took a fancy to Vanderkemp and had to be firmly ejected from his tent. He came under considerable pressure from his own party too, who urged him to return to the Colony until it was safer.

Surprisingly de Buys stood by him and finally forced the issue by threatening to leave Ngqika for Thembuland. Grudgingly the chief agreed to Vanderkemp's requests and allowed him to settle on the far side of the Keiskamma River. (25)

It was customary for the Xhosa to give someone a new name, often having symbolic meaning, to mark a special occasion. They called Vanderkemp Nyengana (Tinkhanna, Jankanna), (26) meaning the one who appeared sneakingly, as if by accident. (27) Tradition related that his coming unarmed convinced Ngqika that he was "a man of peace". (28) He himself later told the colonial authorities that it was imperative that the Xhosa should not have any reason to believe that he had any connection with their government, and that it was against his principles to use force. (29)

2.1.3 A Mission under Stress

Vanderkemp's mission was fated from the start. The political ferment continued throughout his stay with intermittent outbreaks of fighting which made his position increasingly untenable. The Xhosa rightly feared colonial encroachment on their territory and the missionaries' association with the government was always suspect. De Buys did not help matters by depicting the English as the "Bosjemans of the Sea", and thus to be despised like the Bushmen (San) as traitors and robbers. (30) Maynier's visit to Ngqika in mid-December only aggravated the chief's fears.

Maynier, who had recently been appointed "Commissary of the Frontier Districts", adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Xhosa which not only alienated the frontier farmers but was totally ineffective in establishing peace. (31) His negotiations with Ngqika so displeased the chief that he was lucky to escape with his life. Furthermore, on Governor Dundas's instructions he tried to persuade Vanderkemp to suspend his mission and take up work in the Colony instead. Vanderkemp declined all offers but agreed to see the Governor at Graaff Reinet. However, Ngqika's suspicions about the missionaries' complicity with the government were again aroused and he refused to allow them to leave. (32)

This was not the end of Vanderkemp's political problems. Sir George Yonge became Governor at the end of 1799 and was extremely hostile towards missionaries. He accused Vanderkemp of propagating the Jacobin teaching of the rebel Dutchmen among the Xhosa, (33) his friendship

with de Buys and his supposed excuses for not leaving Ngqika being given as evidence. As a result missionary reinforcements were not allowed to join him during 1800. (34)

Ngqika had an ambivalent attitude towards Vanderkemp, his motives for accepting him apparently outweighing his hostility. (35) The expectation of presents was always an attraction, but a constant source of annoyance to Vanderkemp after he had exhausted his small supply of buttons, handkerchiefs and knives, and he was pressurised into parting with much needed possessions. The chief did in fact reciprocate with occasional gifts of food, cows and sheep.

More importantly Ngqika seems to have been intrigued with Vanderkemp's person and teaching, and frequently visited him with his "captains" (councillors). Vanderkemp had an imposing presence and spoke with the authority of having been sent by the " the God of heaven and earth". (36) The Xhosa had great respect for religious figures and in the early days the missionaries were venerated in the belief that they could tap some new source of power from above. (37) The wonders of the written word and the white man's superior military arms were seen as proof of this power.

Vanderkemp's eccentric behaviour added to his mystique. He ate Xhosa food, lived in Xhosa huts, and travelled "on foot, without a hat, shoes or stockings". (38) In part this was due to necessity: he had no mission infrastructure for support, his tent was shredded by winter storms, one of his horses died and the other was taken by Ngqika, and his clothes wore out. He returned from a trip in December 1799 complaining that he had been "sorely wounded by bushes and stones" for want of protective covering; and he was duly grateful when Maynier sent him clothes a year later. (39) But he was fully prepared to suffer as the soldier of Christ for as he told his directors in London:

> For what does it signify to walk barefooted as I now have done for almost two years, if my feet be shod with ... the gospel of peace? What if I had no hat to cover my head, if it may be protected with the helmet of salvation? What to be exposed to cold and nakedness if my heart may be armed by the love of Christ, and my soul clothed with his righteousness. (40)

At the same time Vanderkemp's spartan existence was undoubtedly part of a conscious decision to live out his philosophy of the equality of all men. When he went to Bethelsdorp his bare head, unconventional dress and simple lifestyle were sharply criticized by his contemporaries and were used to condemn his work. (41) Vanderkemp was the type of missionary who wants to adapt Christianity to the daily life of the indigenous community. This was in marked contrast to his successors in the Xhosa mission field who were bent on changing the indigenous way of life to conform to the standards of "Christianity and civilization" as imported from Europe, and set the example by establishing separate communities at their mission stations. For them religious conversion was inextricably linked with cultural conversion and the consequent alienation of the converts from their countrymen created deep cleavages in Xhosa society. Although Vanderkemp was critical of Xhosa customs and practices he made no attempt to challenge the power and authority of the chiefs and was therefore not seen as such a threat.

On the positive side, Vanderkemp's presence gave Ngqika a certain prestige as the people came from all around to hear the missionary's "news". (42) As Williams notes, Ngqika was of the "junior" or Right Hand House of Phalo and his investment in a missionary was a means of strengthening his position vis-a-vis Hintsa, paramount chief of all the Xhosa. (43) But the strategic consideration of having a missionary with regard to the Colony, and the advantage of having someone who could communicate in writing with the government, were not significant motives at this stage. It was only after Vanderkemp had abandoned his mission that he was useful as an envoy to Ngqika. (44) Nor did Vanderkemp introduce any technological innovations, such as irrigation or the plough, which gave later missionaries a powerful advantage in being able to control their environment.

Ngqika's acceptance of Vanderkemp was not without qualification, however, and the missionary suffered much hardship, not the least being physical harassment. In addition to repeated threats to his life, Ngqika kept forcing him to move. This was partly persecution but it was also to allow the chief to keep him under surveillance as he himself moved around. Ngqika feared attack by the colonial commandoes. In addition, he would go the rounds of his different homesteads and cattle posts so as to supervise his dominion. At this time he is said to have

favoured his kraal at Debe which was near the home of Thuthula, the beautiful wife of Ndlambe who he had abducted. (45)

Vanderkemp first settled with a motley collection of refugees at Quakoubi on the eastern side of the Keiskamma River. (46) It was an ideal site for a mission: a large grass field surrounded by mountains, well-watered with plentiful timber and Xhosa homesteads all around. Vanderkemp named it "Cheika" in honour of the chief. He immediately set to and built an oven, cleared land, sowed various vegetable seeds and planted potatoes and different fruits. Bruntjie shot game for the pot. A start was made on a two-roomed house but this was only completed the following year . Even though Vanderkemp stayed here six months the constant threats to his life were unsettling. The war situation and friction among the Xhosa themselves added to the danger. Ndlambe had escaped to the Zuurveld and insurrection was feared. Many Khoi fled and the whites would have followed suit if Vanderkemp had not persuaded them that it would aggravate the situation. One colonist who tried to leave was murdered. (47)

To make matters worse Vanderkemp was deserted by his assistants. Early on Valentine absconded with the horse. He returned but both he and Bruntjie were only too glad when Ngqika allowed them to leave with Edmonds at the end of December 1799. Edmonds had long been pressing his desire to go to Bengal, fostered no doubt by "an insurmountable aversion" to the Xhosa. He left with Vanderkemp's blessing but the missionary was much grieved and retired to the woods to weep. (48)

In April Ngqika ordered Vanderkemp to move with de Buys's group to Debe. In the next four months they were constantly pestered by hostile Xhosa and the missionary was moved twice more. When de Buys's party visited the Colony in June, their servants decamped leaving Vanderkemp with one Khoi assistant and a few women and children. Two months later his life was again threatened for "conspiring against the king". He notes in his journal that "Satan roared like a lion" but that the plan for killing him was "laid aside by a wonderful interference from God". (49) His moves took him lower down the Debe until he reached the spot where Pirie mission was founded thirty years later. For many years a Kaffirboom (Erythrina caffra) known as Vanderkemp's tree marked the site of his emcampment. (50) In October Ngqika unexpectedly ordered him back to his first settlement at Quakoubi only to find that the grass had been set on fire and his house burnt to the ground. On the last day of December 1800 he finally

left Xhosaland with a large group of frontiersmen. They managed to get to the Colony by travelling a circuitous route northwards on the pretext of going elephant hunting. (51)

During his mission to the Xhosa Vanderkemp suffered at the hands of the colonial fugitives too. He had narrowly escaped being murdered by some of them on his way to Ngqika, and although they later joined him and professed regard, they still criticized his egalitarian approach to the indigenous people and stole his goods. Sarah, his only convert, afterwards recalled, "whenever they saw him go into the bush for prayer or meditations, one or other of the Christi mensche (Christians) immediately ran into his tent to steal. His chests were frequently broken open, and his money taken away, until at last he had scarcely dublejees (pence) sufficient to carry him back to the colony". (52) In addition, the Xhosa stole his oxen, while "wolves" carried off calves and sheep as well as food and clothing from his tent. Their "horrid howlings" set the dogs barking all night. Other animals that had to be fended off included leopards, sea cows and "serpents with four legs (iguanas?)". (53)

To add to Vanderkemp's troubles he was ill from dysentry, and suffered much discomfort in extremes of weather. The long months of searing heat in the drought of 1800 were followed by the intense cold of winter snow on the mountains. His tent was repeatedly flattened by wind and rain storms until it was shredded beyond repair. Nonetheless, despite these many harrowing trials Vanderkemp never complained. His Bible and his prayer life were his constant solace and strength, and his faith never wavered. (54)

2.1.4 Preaching and Teaching

Vanderkemp's religion was both personal and immediate. Day by day as he faced a never-ending succession of challenges he would turn to the psalms for spiritual support. The entry in his journal for 20 September 1799, the day of his first meeting with Ngqika, is typical:

> Everything presented an unfavourable appearance; but I found rest and strength in the Lord; and got much comfort from Psalm lxxvii (77), especially the 11th verse (I will call to mind the deeds of the Lord; yea, I

will remember thy wonders of old : RSV). (55)

When enemies seemed to be gaining the upper hand, Vanderkemp saw this as "the wrestlings of Satan to keep us from what might be justly called his territory". For example, on 4 October, when Vanderkemp stood accused of treachery and his life hung in the balance, he wrote:

> I knew that when I entered into this country, I entered it having the sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in God, who raiseth the dead. I knew that all this bad work was Satan's doing; and I knew, by experience, that it was wrong to attempt to fight against him in my own strength, as I had always found him too strong for me; that the only way to overcome him was to give battle into the hand of the Lord, and to wait for the victory from him; and he enabled me, by his grace, now to do so. (56)

Significantly at this time Vanderkemp turned to Psalms 34, 35, 36 and 57, with their prayers for help and promise of deliverance to the righteous. Although he also records that the New Testament reading, "It is I, be not afraid", gave new strength to his soul, his journal entries indicate that he drew on the Old Testament rather than the New for his private meditation. Such readings were taken from Proverbs, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah, and related to comfort in time of distress, looking for direction in the present, and the assurance of God's promise for the future. (57) It was a religion for a chaotic time which expressed itself in the imagery of Christ as Conqueror and of being spiritually armed "to fight the good fight of faith".

From the start of his mission Vanderkemp established a routine of twice daily corporate worship in his tent : in the early morning and after supper in the evening. Worship began with a bible reading taken from the Old Testament in the morning and the New in the evening. This was followed by a hymn, a prayer and the singing of a psalm. The services were held in the Dutch language which a few of the Khoi could understand but which was totally imcomprehensible to the Xhosa. (58)

Vanderkemp was a brilliant linguist, mastering

sixteen languages during his lifetime. (59) After a year in Xhosaland he drew up a rough sketch of Xhosa grammar and an elementary vocabulary of about eight hundred words. All he had to go on was a list of eleven numerals compiled by Valentyn in 1726, and another list of sixty-three words recorded by Sparrman in 1782. (60) He also began a study of the Gonaqua language because despite having been long incorporated by the Xhosa they still spoke their own Khoi tongue. (61) Even so Vanderkemp had critical communications problems. De Buys helped in the beginning followed by San and Khoi interpreters. This was always unsatisfactory as they had no grounding in theology. On the one hand there was the obvious danger of misrepresentation and on the other a failure to contextualize the gospel in terms of the Xhosa world view. (62)

Vanderkemp's method of evangelization involved two widely different strategies geared as they were to two quite distinct audiences. His outreach to the Xhosa was on an extended scale and involved an informal presentation of the gospel as and when he could gather an audience together in their homesteads and villages. In contrast, the evangelization carried out at his encampment was intensive, concentrating on formal instruction to a small group of pupils and followers, many of whom were of part or full Khoi parentage and through being associated with the fugitive colonists could speak Dutch. It is this group we shall look at first.

At the beginning of December 1799 Vanderkemp notes that the wife of "a Caffree captain" had asked him to teach her to write her name, and that the letters she formed were the first written in "Caffreland" by "a native". Two weeks later he began "a reading and writing school, in the Caffree and Dutch languages, with eleven pupils of different nations". All the fugitive colonists seem to have had Khoi "wives" and it was some of their children who formed the backbone of the school. An hour was set apart to instruct them in "the principles of christianity". (63) The substance of this teaching was given by Vanderkemp himself as follows:

> In place of introducing a scientific system of divinity, I traced out the first lines of an historical system of the ways of God with mankind, derived from Scripture. I resolved this system into easy questions, to which I added the places of Scripture

> containing the answers. I proposed in the morning, to my young people, some of these questions immediately after I had read the Old Testament chapter in our family worship. (64)

At the beginning of January 1800 Vanderkemp introduced "a kind of catechising-meeting" which was to be kept twice a week, viz. on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Ngqika once attended the children's catechism class and afterwards was taught the Xhosa alphabet; but this was an exception as the Xhosa showed little interest in formal teaching. Groups of Xhosa came to visit, including Ngqika's wives, but they did not respond to instruction. The school routine was upset by the missionary's many moves not to mention the comings and goings of his followers. In June he records that when the Khoi servants absconded he lost nearly all his pupils. They were shortly augmented, however, by a number of Khoi women who came from nearby kraals. (65) But there could be no continuity in this work and Vanderkemp had little to show for his efforts. The most responsive were the women of Khoi or mixed Khoi and Xhosa descent who could speak Dutch. (66) But conversions were the measure of missionary achievement and there was only one convert, a Khoi woman called Sarah. (67)

The gospel which Vanderkemp preached was in the evangelical mode with the emphasis on individual salvation. Great importance was attached to personal piety and the union of the soul with Jesus Christ. Examples of his texts included the stories of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16: 19-31), the rich man and the kingdom of God (Luke 18: 18-27), Nicodemus (John 3: 1-6), the conversion of Lydia and the Jailer in Philippi (Acts 16), Jesus the true vine (John 15: 3-6), Jesus the High Priest (Hebrews 7: 26), and the history of our Lord's passion (Matthew 26). (68)

Vanderkemp found the people very ignorant and he made little headway until Sarah became a catechumen. She was the "wife" of a colonist, C Bezuidenhout, and her two Khoi servants also came for instruction. As Sarah grew in her faith the missionary rejoiced that at last he had someone with whom he could "converse confidentially of the mysteries of the hidden communion with Christ". The many references in his journal to his teaching at the time follow the same theme: the misery of sinful man and deliverance through faith in the saving doctrine of Christ. (69) One sermon which is said to have made a deep

impression on the Khoi women exemplifies his evangelical style of preaching:

> I had described the horrors of the first and second death, and considered both as the wages of sin. To this I opposed the nature of everlasting life, and how it might be obtained by those who were weary of the service of sin, not as the wages of righteousness, and good works, but as a free gift of God's grace through Jesus Christ, who is willing to confer it on everyone that sincerely desires to accept it as such from his hands. (70)

Again, when instructing the women on the nature of baptism, he told them that "everyone of them must go to hell if they did not receive a new heart before they died". (71) Sarah was baptized with her two small children, Hannah and Sarah, in the Keiskamma River on 15 October 1800. Her eldest daughter, aged four, was baptized four days later and named Christina. The only problem was that Sarah's husband was constantly on the move and so she was shortly separated from her mentor. But Vanderkemp had taught her the rudiments of reading and writing and on parting he gave her a Bible and notes on his teaching to refresh her memory. When he finally left Xhosaland he was comforted by the thought that perhaps the Lord had sent him to convert this one woman, in the same way that Elijah had been sent to Israel for the sake of one widow. (72) Sarah continued to work hard at improving her reading until she was able to read her Bible; and although she did not come under missionary influence again for thirty years, she "ever retained a sense of religion, and a very strong attachment to her bible". (73)

2.1.5. Ministry to the Xhosa : "they did not understand"

In his journal Vanderkemp makes numerous references to visiting kraals and to receiving hospitality; but he makes no mention of his evangelization of the Xhosa in their homes. (74) His concern was with personal conversion and his main interest the spiritual growth of his few disciples. The evidence for how he was heard by the Xhosa therefore comes from the Xhosa themselves. The oral traditon related by William Kekale Kaye, "a native interpreter", could date from the early 1870s.

> It is said that when the Kafirs were amongst the Boers they know nothing of God's word and even the name of God they knew not. There arrived a white man who was named Nyengana, so called by the Kafirs, otherwise Dr van der Kemp, a Missionary who came to the Gaikas (amaNgqika) at the Debe accompanied by a Boer named Kula (de Buys) who was his Interpreter.
>
> He said that he had brought the word of God to the Kafirs. God the Lord who had made the earth and all things upon it and also people, who were also defended by him.
>
> But the Kafirs did not understand him clearly on account of his Interpreter not knowing the Kafir language perfectly, and therefore Dr van der Kemp was prevented from carrying on the word of God among the Kafirs. (75)

It is clear that the language barrier was critical in affecting not only how Vanderkemp was heard by the Xhosa but also what he understood, or failed to understand, of their religious beliefs; and this in turn had profound implications for his presentation of the gospel. As we have seen, he believed that the Xhosa as a whole had no religion, nor any idea of God, while those individuals who had some notion of God's existence had borrowed the name of Thixo from the Hottentots. Thixo was therefore the only God-name available to him, and in fact it was a happy choice being comparatively nearest to the Christian concept of God. The first steps in the move to monotheism are recorded in the tradition collected by Callaway in the mid-nineteenth century from "a very old Xhosa man" named Ulangeni, who lived at a mission station. It appears to be a first-hand account:

> On the arrival of the English in this land of ours, the first who came was a missionary named Uyegana (Nyengana). On his arrival he taught the people, but they did not understand what he said; he used to sleep in the open air, and not in a house; but when he saw a village he went to it, he jabbered constantly to the people, and they could not

understand what he said.

> At length he went up the country, and met with two men - a Dutchman and a Hottentot; he returned with them, and they interpreted for him. We began to understand his words. He made enquiries amongst us, asking, "What do you say about the creation of all things?" We replied, "We call him who made all things Utikxo." And he enquired, "Where is he?" We replied, "In heaven." Uyegana said, "Very well, I bring that very one (that is, all that relates to or concerns him) to you of this country." (76)

According to the oral tradition, Vanderkemp represented God as Creator and Defender, and his own role as being to bring the word of God to the Xhosa. This introduced a number of radical new ideas. For the Xhosa, the ritual word was sacred: in the form of prayer or song it was believed to control the transaction between man and the beyond. (77) The chiefs, who were as much religious as political figures, were the mediators between man and the beyond and their "word" had to be implicitly obeyed. The word of God would therefore have had even more powerful symbolic associations. This concept of "word" as having power in itself is thus important for the Xhosa understanding of Vanderkemp. Furthermore, for him the "word of God" was synonymous with the "word of life". (78) Consequently, he added to the Xhosa monistic concept of God as fons et origo, the Mosaic concept of God as creatio ex nihilo, with its dualistic concept of reality, a secular creation and a transcendent holy other. The idea of God as Defender was another radical step as it involved the active interraction of God in the lives of men. This foundation having been laid, it is evident from the following tradition given by Wauchope, that Vanderkemp's teaching then focussed on the usual themes: the sins of man, the atoning death of the Saviour, and the judgement to come.

Wauchope claims that this specimen of Vanderkemp's preaching was handed down in his family from his grandmother, Ngo (baptized Mina). She was nine years old when her widowed mother, of mixed Khoi and Xhosa extraction, attached herself with her three children to the missionary at his camp at Debe in 1800. The family followed Vanderkemp to Graaff Reinet and from there to Bethelsdorp. Mina returned to Kaffraria in 1808 following

her mother's death. She died in Port Elizabeth in 1887 aged ninety-six. (79) Without entering into a lengthy discussion on the authenticity of Wauchope's account, suffice it to say that the praise poem in the first part corresponds with Ntsikana's Great Hymn and suggests a confusion of sources. (80) The content of the missionary's teaching in the second part, however, appears reasonably accurate.

> The preaching of Van der Kemp was of a conversational character. There were several trees and the men sat under one tree while the women occupied the shade of another, all smoked their pipes while the preaching was going on. Sometimes there was some honey-beer. What is now known as Kafir-beer was not known then. Van der Kemp told them that
>
> There was God in heaven;
> He created all things,
> The sun, the moon, the stars.
> There was one, Sifuba-sibanzi,
> (The Broad-breasted one)
> He is the leader of men;
> Was heralded by a Star;
> His feet were wounded for us,
> His hands were pierced for us,
> His blood was shed for us.
>
> Gaika's place was now the centre of attraction. All the minor chiefs made frequent visits to the station. There was always one of Gaika's councillors who attended and told the "news" the missionary had brought. He related to the visitors how this man came there suddenly and told them of the Qamata, whom they did not know although they used his name when they sneezed, and said, "Qamata, keep us, protect us and save us from the Amagqwire (witch or sorcerer)."
>
> He tells us that God made the earth and the heaven. He made the Isilimela (the Pleiades) the Nocelizapolo (Venus) the Amaroze (Orion's belt) and the Canzibe (Saturn). He tells us about the great Sifuba-sibanzi, (81) the Saviour of the world, who came to this

> world many years ago and was killed by the enemies of Qamata - how he rose from the dead and ascended to heaven, how He has sent the missionary to tell Gaika that He will come again, and all who practice witch-craft will be swept away as before a mighty wind. These things are ubuggi (mysteries). Our fathers never told us anything about them. We know something about death and we know that our ancestors are living somewhere, but we could not tell where. Nyengana has come to tell us that the good people go to God after death, and the bad ones go to the place of izitunzela (evil spirits), where there is a big fire kindled and they are burned there as we burn the Amaggwira. The missionary Nyengana has stolen here to give warning.

The most striking impression in the second part of the account is that it seems to follow the form of the Apostle's Creed. Much of this material may well be a filling in of detail from teaching obtained by Mina at Bethelsdorp but it would still reflect the style and content of Vanderkemp's preaching. The naming of the heavenly bodies was probably a Xhosa response to his pointing to the heaven, as he gives no evidence of being familiar with the Xhosa names in the text. Mina's use of Qamata rather than Thixo as the designation for God indicates further proof of her re-interpretation of what she had heard, in terms of the Xhosa context. The citing of witchcraft as a sin is likely to have originated with Vanderkemp judging from his discussion of the subject in his "Account of Crimes and Punishment in Caffraria". (82)

In trying to impart the need for personal conversion Vanderkemp's main problem was to develop the idea of sin from a corporate ethic to a personal level. In the Xhosa world view moral behaviour was concerned with right relationships between men and the essence of sin was that it was anti-social. Xhosa morality was supported by religious sanctions so that a breach of the moral code was regarded as an offence against the ancestors who were the guardians of the social and moral order. Linked with sin in traditional thought was the concept of dirt or pollution which could diminish the life-force of man. (83) Witchcraft was the embodiment of evil and was punished by death. Some of Vanderkemp's hearers were impressed by his "hell-fire" preaching and became fearful

of God's judgement but it was too radical a step for them to move to the Christian view of the human situation and the need for a saviour in the Christian sense. Instead, the Xhosa response was to fit Vanderkemp into their own scheme of things.

2.1.6 The Rainmaker

In order to assess Vanderkemp's influence on Xhosa society it is necessary to try to identify the unintended consequences of his ministry both in terms of the social and cultural impact and what the Xhosa selected to hear.

Evidence from the Xhosa tradition has given some indication of the more obvious effects of having an eccentric white man living in their midst and teaching the word of God. But the social disturbance was to be extended over time through his criticism of their customs and practices. Vanderkemp's position is manifestly clear in his assessment of the Xhosa as a "Barbarous nation", who were "extremely superstitious, without religion". He had no understanding whatsoever of their ancestor ritual and felt aggrieved when "they howled and danced like crazy people" when he wished to worship with his flock. (84)

In his account of Xhosa customs, Vanderkemp was vociferous in his condemnation of witchcraft, while medical practices were said to be largely magical with most of the patients being treated by extracting objects from their bodies. The diviner's role in ordering ritual sacrifices by way of expiation, and in casting out "the Devil" in cases of possession, was also censured as were instances of superstitious behaviour like casting stones on the izivivane. "These disgusting tales" were said to show that "credulity and unbelief go hand in hand, as well in Caffraria as in Europe". (85)

Social practices came under the missionary's scrutiny too, with marriage being seen as the buying of a wife for cattle. He maintained that adultery went unpunished, while murder was only sometimes punished by a fine of cattle. On the other hand people suspected of witchcraft were immediately put to death. Men were castigated for their idle way of life and for their indecency in going naked except when a cloak was worn to keep out the cold. The women were criticized for their "shocking" practice of painting their faces and bodies with red ochre. However, he was not overtly critical of their mode of living. (86) It is not certain to what extent Vanderkemp mounted a direct attack on Xhosa belief and customs, apart from witchcraft, but undoubtedly his call to a new way of life,

with its conflicting values and focus on individualism, threatened the basic structures of Xhosa society.

The initial response of the Xhosa was suspicion and fear. Apart from the distrust engendered by the political situation, the missionaries' strange behaviour was threatening. When they were first seen to kneel down in prayer, one man took fright and fled in fear of his life. Soon afterwards a young woman mistook the shaking of their tent in the wind for an elephant and ran into the forest where she fell into a game pit and was seriously injured. (87)

The Xhosa felt no need for Vanderkemp's radical new ideas. For them the challenge was to explain his function satisfactorily in terms of their own thought patterns, and this was the controlling factor in selecting what they wished to hear. Ngqika is a case in point. In spite of his fears, he frequently visited the missionaries and took a surprising interest in their teaching. He asked for instruction, attended worship and was even suitably devout when they prayed. It was only years afterwards that he "was astonished to learn that he might pray to God in his own language". He had always heard Nyengana pray in Dutch and had concluded that it was necessary to learn Dutch before being able to pray. (88) Ngqika evidently linked Vanderkemp's prayers, together with his hymn singing, reading and writing, with his understanding of the power in words and with a source of power than with the actual character of the Christian God.

In the monistic world view of the Xhosa, healing was a manifestation of power which impressed and Vanderkemp would be accepted in the role of healer. However, although he did occasionally use his medical skills to treat patients, it was the healing power of prayer which Ngqika called for when he and his wives became dangerously ill and when many people were dying from an epidemic fever. The chief's recovery was seen as proof of Vanderkemp's power and he was asked if Thixo had also given him the power of raising people from the dead. (89) His prayers clearly satisfied the need of the Xhosa to deal with misfortune by being plugged in to the source of power. Their belief in his effectiveness is shown by his being foisted into the role of rainmaker.

Over the years the Xhosa had patronized Khoi and San rainmakers. We have seen too that a prolonged drought was one of the few occasions when the God of the Xhosa was approached directly. When these avenues all failed it was but a short step to approach the missionary in the hope that he would be more effective in tapping the power of

his God. Vanderkemp was first approached by Ngqika "to pray to God for rain" in December 1799. He answered that "God would give sufficient rain in his time". That very evening there was thunder and heavy rain which Vanderkemp told Ngqika was God's doing; and the chief "marvelled" when he went on to explain how the effects were produced by electricity.

The drought persisted through the next year, however. In August, shortly after a plot to kill the missionary had failed, Ngqika came and asked him "what law he must follow to obtain rain for his country". He was told that the evils committed in his country were sufficient reason for God to keep back his rain, especially the victimization of the Christians. This corresponded with Xhosa logic as the idea of drought as a punishment was entirely consistent with their thought patterns.

A month later, Ngqika's mother, who was said to be the chief rainmaker, informed Vanderkemp "that she could not make it rain in the land, as the hole from which it was procured, was stopped by some malevolent people", and asked him to make it rain. Other members of the chief's family added their pleas, until at the end of October Ngqika sent a formal deputation begging him "to give rain to the country" as the "magicians" had failed. (90) He offered a present of two cows with their calves, which Vanderkemp declined. Moreover, he said that he could not procure rain as this depended entirely on God's pleasure, but that he could and would pray for it. The account in his journal continues:

> Taking a walk, and reflecting on what I had said, I considered that the Lord would certainly give rain, if I could pray for it in the name of Jesus, and I perceived at the same time some desire for the Glory of God. I then returned to Gika's Caffres, and said, "Jesus Christus, intakha Thiko, Inkoessi zal izoulou. Dia khou theta au le: lo khou nika invoula, mina kossliwe". (Jesus Christ, the son of God, is Lord of Heaven. I will speak to him, and he will give rain; I cannot.) ... I then prayed for rain in subordination to the Glory of God. (91)

The journal entry the following day reads: "In the morning it pleased the Lord to give us plentiful rain,

which continued all the day, with thunder in the afternoon". The rain was a timely relief as much for Vanderkemp as the Xhosa. Throughout this period he had been threatened and moved around, and it possibly saved his life. Two days later it was still raining. The Xhosa said, "Tinkhanna (Nyengana) had talked to the Lord (Inkoessi viz. iNkosi) on high; and he has given us rain". His reputation as a rainmaker was assured. It continued raining for a week, washing away Ngqika's homestead in the process. The rain was accompanied by such a terrifying thunderstorm that the chief implored Vanderkemp to "entreat Thiko, that he might hear no more such tremendous thunder claps". The missionary later learnt that the colonist Bezuidenhout had not only appropriated Ngqika's present of cattle, but had demanded more from the chief in Vanderkemp's name arguing that he "could not give so much rain to the country at such a low price". (92)

The Xhosa version of Vanderkemp's role as a rainmaker is given by Kaye. Significantly it is de Buys, who is in a liminal world between the two cultures, who acts as catalyst in incorporating the missionary into the Xhosa thought world.

> It happened in that year that there was a great drought, and the people knew not what to do, cultivation was stayed, and the cattle became impoverished, when Kula (de Buys) whispered to Gaika (Ngqika) saying, speak to Nyengana that he pray for rain. But Gaika and the Kafirs deferred doing so until they had ascertained from the witch Doctors the truth. They assembled and sent for a Doctor and enquired of him who it was that prevented the rain. The Doctor said it is Nutsangweni, let him be caught and killed and thrown into the water that rain may fall. He was killed, and they did so with him, but no rain fell, and the Kafirs wondered.
>
> At length Gaika thought of the hint of Kula, he collected his counsellors and said I was advised by Kula to speak to Nyengana that he might pray for rain. They assembled and went to Nyengana and talked to him of the great heat and drought. He consented to try to pray for them, saying perhaps the Lord will help us. He then commenced by singing a hymn, and then preached to them and when he had

finished, he prayed.

They then left and went home, and the same day a great rain fell, the rivers filled, the country flourished. When the Kafirs saw this they had great faith in Nyengana, because he had the truth. But they could not be taught clearly the truth of God's work, for he had no Interpreter who could understand perfectly the Kafirs. For a long time he tried to improve in speaking Kafir, until at length Gaika said, Go home! For we do not understand what you talk about, for you have no Interpreter that understands us thoroughly.

He explained to them that the seed of God's word which he had sown amongst them would spring up among them after he was gone. God will reveal himself to one of you who will speak among you. Hear him. He then left them. (93)

Of note in the account is the stress on ritual action rather than content in Vanderkemp's approach to God; and the prophetic ending which establishes the authority for Ntsikana's experience of God's revelation fifteen years later.

2.1.7 "Jankanna's Children"

According to Lichtenstein, Vanderkemp had to flee Xhosaland at the end of 1800 because of increasing pressure on him as "rainmaker" and the failure of his subsequent attempts to pray for rain. (94) Others maintain that he was recalled by the Governor because he was believed to be fomenting trouble on the eastern frontier of the Colony. (95) Vanderkemp himself records that his leaving was precipitated by the flight of the fugitive frontiersmen in fear of their lives. Their women and servants were his only followers and they begged him not to abandon them. He wavered, unwilling to antagonize the Xhosa and so jeopardize the future of his mission. But he decided to go when he learnt that the Governor had prevented Read and Vanderlingen, the new recruits from England, from joining him because of the continued rebellious state of the burghers. (96) Four and a half months later he was united with his colleagues in Graaff Reinet. (97)

At Graaff Reinet Vanderkemp was persuaded to postpone

resuming his mission and to work among the many refugee Khoi encamped there instead. Ngqika sent word to say that he was "very much grieved to have lost him". However, it was not until August 1801 that Vanderkemp returned at the chief's request to escort him to a meeting with Maynier at Graaff Reinet. Read went along too and they were warmly welcomed. In the end Ngqika refused to leave Xhosaland for fear of the colonists' hositility but he asked the missionaries to return to his country, promising to receive instruction and to allow his followers freedom in choosing as they pleased. (98) Ultimately Vanderkemp decided that his work among the Khoi held greater promise and he founded a mission for them at Bethelsdorp in the eastern Cape.

During his first years at Bethelsdorp Vanderkemp kept in contact with a number of Xhosa chiefs living in the Zuurveld. He records that in 1804 members of the family of Chungwa, the Gqunukhwebe chief, took refuge at the institution, while Ndlambe sent a deputation with a white ox as present to ask him to make rain. Later that year Tshatshu, chief of the amaNtinde, settled near by and handed over his son Dyani (Jan) to be educated by the missionaries. Soon afterwards Chungwa paid a visit with his wives and entrusted two of his sons to their care. This was the first positive response of the Xhosa to meet the missionaries on their own terms. Vanderkemp saw it as God opening the way to the evangelization of these "savages". (99) But over the years the missionaries were continually at loggerheads with the colonial administration and were steadfastly refused permission to resume work beyond the borders of the Colony for fear of stirring up trouble. It seems that after persistent pressure Read was finally allowed to go on an occasional preaching tour in Xhosaland in the 1810s. (100)

James Read was a carpenter by trade. (101) He appears to have received little formal education but was given some training by the London Missionary Society in England before coming to the Cape in 1800. When the Xhosa mission was abandoned he accompanied Vanderkemp to the eastern Cape and was ordained as a missionary by him at Bethelsdorp in 1806. Three years earlier he had married a Khoi girl, and he became totally identified with the Khoi cause much to the ire of the local whites. The frontier farmers were incensed by the missionaries' egalitarian ideas and accused them of luring their Khoi labour away from the lands. Bethelsdorp was castigated as being a refuge for the idle and a hotbed of sedition and iniquity. The eccentric behaviour of Vanderkemp and Read did not

help matters, and successive governments at the Cape supported the farmers in taking action against them. They were both recalled to Cape Town by the Batavian administration in 1805, and were only allowed to return to Bethelsdorp after the Second British occupation the following year. Even then the missionaries continued to fall foul of the colonial authorities. (102)

The colonists' demands for Khoi labour became a critical issue after the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, and the missionaries' strenuous defence of the Khoi against ill-treatment by the farmers and frontier officials added fuel to the fire. The antagonism came to a head when Read took charge of Bethelsdorp after Vanderkemp's death in 1811, and supported Khoi complainants in the "Black Circuit" with the encouragement of philanthropists in England. There were a number of convictions, with resistance by the local whites leading to the Slachter's Nek Rebellion. Hostility against the L.M.S. now reached a peak but it was Read's own immoral behaviour that led to his being removed to the north in 1817 to work among the Tswana. He returned to Bethelsdorp in 1820 and later helped pioneer the Khoi settlement in the Kat River basin.

In the meantime, the missionaries had so antagonized the colonial administration that the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, forbade the planting of any further missions among the indigenous people on the grounds that Khoi farm labourers and runaway slaves were taking refuge with them. (103) However, the continuing unrest on the Xhosa-Cape frontier, even after the Xhosa had been expelled from the Zuurveld, pointed to the advantages of having an agent in their midst and Joseph Williams was given permission to open a mission to the Xhosa for the L.M.S. . Read accompanied by Williams and Dyani Tshatshu set off on an exploratory tour of western Xhosaland in April 1876. Then it was that the longer term influence of Vanderkemp became evident.

The missionaries visited a number of Xhosa leaders whom they had known previously in the Zuurveld. Everywhere they went they were welcomed as "Jankanna's (Nyengana's) children" and all asked for missionaries. On his return Read reported that

> The labours of our later brother Vanderkemp did not then appear to be very useful; but he has made the name of a Missionary so valuable, by his disinterested

> behaviour, that a Missionary is safer there than perhaps he would be in many parts of England; and the Caffres were no more afraid of us than of one another. They said, "These are our friends; because they are Jankanna's children". They will not believe but that I am the real son of the Doctor, and some even said, I looked very much like him; I suppose, because I am getting rather bald. (104)

The account of this trip, more especially the missionaries' meeting with Nxele, will be discussed below. Of interest here is their visit to Ngqika. After a cautious start, the chief became very emotional when Tshatshu preached in Xhosa and retired to the bush with other listeners to pray. This practice seems to have started with Vanderkemp, (105) and was firmly established among the Xhosa thirty years later. (106) Ngqika expressed shame for his sinfulness, saying that his sins were as numerous as the stars, and regretted that he "had neglected the word Nyengana had made known to him; but now God had visited him again, and had not suffered him to die in ignorance; ... that he had always fixed his heart on his wives, and on his cattle; but now he saw that all, without Taay [Nxele's name for Christ], was nothing". (107) He gave the missionaries a free hand in chosing where to settle and promised that the word of God would be "free for everyone". The following month Williams founded the Kat River mission.

In the sixteen years since Vanderkemp had left Xhosaland the political situation had changed somewhat. The Xhosa had been driven east of the Fish River and were feeling the pressure of white encroachment, while within the country Ngqika had lost a large section of his following to Ndlambe. With the dynastic feud coming to a head, Ngqika had little option but to look to the British for support. The missionaries were now seen as having strategic advantages both with regard to providing an avenue of communication with the British authorities and in giving support in the power struggle between competing chiefdoms. For all Ngqika's apparent enthusiasm for the gospel, therefore, it was the political considerations that ranked paramount in his acceptance of a missionary establishment. (108) On the other hand, Nxele's early teaching and Ntsikana's conversion can be directly related to Vanderkemp's ministry and were to have a profound influence in rooting Christianity in the Xhosa tradition.

2.1.8 What did the Xhosa choose not to hear ?

In trying to answer this question it is necessary to see why in fact Vanderkemp did not succeed better than he did. In evaluating his work among the Khoi, his contemporaries ascribed his failure at Bethelsdorp to his eccentricity and style of mission work, and their criticism is equally applicable to his Xhosa mission. Like the other missionaries who sprang from the Evangelical Revival, Vanderkemp stressed the need for personal conversion. But unlike them he saw this as an end in itself. Although he was critical of Xhosa customs and practices, and in the long run this criticism initiated change, his overriding egalitarian philosophy did not allow him to force cultural conversion along with religious conversion. (109) In criticizing the outworking of this mission policy at Bethelsdorp, Campbell maintained that had Vanderkemp been "more aware of the importance of civilization, there might at least have been more external appearance of it". Vanderkemp was censured for imitating the "savage" in appearance rather than inducing the "savage" to imitate him, appearing in public, "without hat, stockings or shoes, and probably without a coat". (110) His only justification was perhaps in following Paul's words, of his becoming all things to all men that he might gain some.

For Vanderkemp a saving knowledge of Christ was the sole purpose of his mission and the pragmatic consideration of "civilizing" the indigenous people through setting up a model mission station was beyond his concern. An example in the Xhosa mission field was his failure to follow up his initial enthusiasm for planting a garden. At Bethelsdorp a lack of mission strategy had serious implications for the functioning of the institution as highlighted in the oft quoted and damning critique by Lichtenstein. Vanderkemp was said to be of little value as a missionary, partly because he was a "mere enthusiast, and too much absorbed in the idea of conversion", and partly because he was "too learned" and did not relate to the "common concerns of life". (111) Dr John Philip, the Superintendent of the L.M.S. in South Africa, rose to Vanderkemp's defence, arguing for one that despite the many problems of the time, he had achieved a longlasting influence among the Xhosa in opening the way for the gospel. But the difficulties he had encountered were a significant factor in his failure to achieve immediate results. (112)

The turbulent political situation on the Xhosa - Cape

frontier at the turn of the eighteenth century speaks for itself. Vanderkemp was always suspect as a British ally and the fugitive frontiersmen did all in their power to feed the Xhosa suspicions. In addition to the threats to his life and constant harassment, being kept on the move precluded any sustained contacts with his few followers let alone the Xhosa round about, and the physical demands of such a ministry to a middle-aged man were extraordinary. Under these circumstances he could hardly have hoped to achieve much in so short a time and without any assistance.

From the Xhosa point of view the language barrier was a critical factor. Vanderkemp's grasp of their language was never sufficiently competent to allow free reign of thought and this raises the missiological questions concerning his failure to communicate the gospel effectively. Was it because he was not getting under the skin of their world view? Or was it because they were not yet ready for the new religion? The answers to both questions seems to be in the affirmative.

According to Vanderkemp's account of Xhosa religion and customs, he assumed that all African tradition was bad. Although he did not follow this up with a concerted attack on Xhosa culture, his negative evaluation of their world view meant that his attempts to graft Christianity on to it were doomed to fail. Later missionaries only managed to succeed by separating their converts from their home environment and steeping them in the western way of life so that they could experience the incoming culture in all its fullness. Even so the process of change was dishearteningly slow and as I have indicated the two traditions continued to exist side by side over a long period.

In looking to see how appropriate Vanderkemp's sort of Christianity was for Africans one has to ask two questions. How appropriate was the content and style of his ministry? And a larger question of how available could the Christian symbols be to those standing in the African tradition at that particular point in time?

One has to admit to a certain tension between what Vanderkemp on the one hand seems to have preached, with its threat of punishment and hope of salvation in a very individualistic context; and on the other hand the style of the man himself. His journal shows a preference expressed in his worship and teaching for an historical and therefore corporate understanding of salvation deeply rooted in the Old Testament, together with his selection

of New Testament illustrative materials which like the parable of the vine suggests incorporation into the body, and on the basis of social concern as expressed in parables such as Dives and Lazarus. Whether the selection of these last was a conscious choice on his part or simply experience teaching him which stories found resonance in the African mind we shall never know, but probably it was the latter. In a society where man was defined in terms of belonging to a community, individualism was seen as a threat to the equilibrium which could endanger the well-being of the group as a whole. The call for individual conversion was therefore a totally alien concept which implied a radical move from a behaviour pattern to a belief pattern, so threatening the fundamental structures of Xhosa society.

At the end of the eighteenth century the pace of change was still not sufficient to require a radical break with tradition. Social cohesion still held firm and authority of the tradition remained intact. In this sense Lichtenstein's criticism was probably right albeit for the wrong reasons. If Vanderkemp had insisted on cultural change there might have been a greater ability to grasp the essentials of the Christian faith on the part of those who were exposed to the disturbance of novel experience. But as I have shown, the Xhosa explained Vanderkemp's function in terms of their traditional thought-world, and this was the controlling factor in selecting what they heard.

We have seen that the incorporation of Khoisan elements into Xhosa religion over a period of time had prepared the way for the assimilation of ideas from Christianity. So it was that some new elements were incorporated from Vanderkemp's teaching to meet the needs of the new situation caused by the coming of the white man, in particular the idea of a supreme being who was the ultimate source of power and was actively involved in human affairs. In the next section I will be showing that Nxele followed the same ongoing process of religious change among the Xhosa by incorporating other Christian concepts within the traditional world view, so continuing to appropriate the new source of power without disturbing the equilibrium. It was only at the time of Ntsikana's conversion in 1815 that the present experience became sufficiently disturbed and unacceptable to the Xhosa to precipitate the move towards transcendence.

In retrospect Vanderkemp was perhaps the best man for his times. Ultimately you cannot "sell" a religion to a people who are not yet ready for it and the Xhosa were not

yet ready for what he had to offer. But by entering into their life and hence into their confidence, he formed a bridge over which Christianity would pass in future years. (113)

2.2 NXELE AND THE XHOSA RESPONSE TO CHANGE

Nxele lived from about 1780 to 1820, a time when Xhosa society was coming under increasing pressure from within as well as from without. The conflict between black and white on the Xhosa-Cape frontier began to escalate in intensity, while the dynastic feud was building up to a climax within the Xhosa ranks. The beginnings of missionary work among them added to the internal pressure. It was in this situation of increasing socio-cultural disturbance that Nxele emerged as a leader among his people. I will be focussing on his response to the new order of things in which the predominating sense was that the white man's power was felt to be greater than that of the Xhosa. This may have begun with the gun but it extended so far as the desire to turn the missionary into a rain-doctor.

2.2.1 Nxele's Calling

Nxele was the son of Balala, a commoner of Gonaqua (mixed Xhosa and Khoi) stock, who worked for a Boer farmer in the Zuurveld. (114) His mother was renowned as a herbalist who could foresee future events, and he is said to have inherited his mystical gifts as a traditional doctor from her. (115) From boyhood Nxele had a charismatic personality, drawing people to him with his "unbounded humour and energy" and penchant for story-telling. In appearance he was "a very ugly man of middle stature, with a head shaped like a boer-pumpkin, high cheek-bones, quick, restless eyes, and a big mouth". (116) But people became spell-bound once he began speaking and forgot his strange looks. His boyhood name was Makhanda (Makanna) but he was always known as Nxele, the name of his divination. (117) Nxele means "the left-handed". (118) It was translated as Links (Linksch) by the Dutch and corrupted to Lynx (Lynks) by the English.

As a young man Nxele began to show signs of being called as a diviner. (119) Typically he would disappear for long periods at a time, living in the forests and fields, fasting and avoiding people. (120) But from the start he also incorporated Christian concepts into the traditional cosmology, and on occasional visits home would

refuse all food saying that the sins of the people had made it unclean during preparation. Following his circumcision he began to preach, and in an ecstatic state claimed that he had been sent by God to punish his countrymen for their sins. He commanded them "to reject witchcraft and to reject blood". (121)

It seems highly likely that Nxele came under the influence of Dr Vanderkemp and James Read as a boy, while he was living within the mission outreach of Bethelsdorp (Qhaggwira). Unlike most Xhosa he knew a little Dutch, and his early teaching reflects the evangelical style of the missionaries' preaching, concentrating on the misery of sinful man and deliverance through faith in the saving doctrine of Christ. (122) The missionaries' teaching on the resurrection of the dead is said to have made a profound impact on the Xhosa, (123) and tradition relates that a sermon by Vanderkemp on the subject inspired the doctrine which Nxele later formulated on a mass rising of the ancestors. (124) At any rate Nxele claimed to be following in Vanderkemp's footsteps. In describing his conversion experience to Read, he said:

> A large fire was presented before him, and that there were persons who had got hold of him to throw him into it, but that Taay [Nxele's name for Christ] came and delivered him. He it was who told him that he had once sent Jankanna [viz. Nyengana, Vanderkemp] to the Caffres, but they would not listen; that he must now go and make his will known to them. (125)

When Nxele began preaching he bore witness to what Nyengana had said before him. In this way he claimed authority from the white man whom they had seen and heard, as well as from the above. It is quite feasible that, although he had initially been called by the ancestors as a diviner, he now came to believe that he was called by God as well, because religious enthusiasm was rife at Bethelsdorp at this time. Hell was realistically described in pietistic preaching and the need was stressed for vivid personal spiritual experience. There were extravagant displays of emotionalism during the periodic revivals at Bethelsdorp, with people "crying for mercy" as they became "convicted of their sins" and weeping so loudly that they drowned the preacher's voice during

services. Dreams which featured Christ were also commonplace among these early converts. (126) An active dream life was typical of the calling of a diviner, only now Christ replaced the ancestors as the source of spiritual inspiration. It is noteworthy that the idea of being saved by Christ and return from death has been a characteristic form of revelation in establishing the authority of the founders of many new religious movements in Africa. (127)

Most of the people at Bethelsdorp were of Khoi extraction, but a couple of Xhosa chiefs living in the Zuurveld had been sufficiently disturbed in their lifestyle to hand over sons to be educated by the missionaries. It is significant that they had some Khoi blood in them, like Chungwa, and had also taken Khoi wives, like Tshatshu. Dyani (Jan) Tshatshu was the son and heir of the amaNtinde chief and a Khoi woman. (128) At Bethelsdorp he was taught to read and write in Dutch, had some English, learnt the carpenter's trade, and developed a taste for drawing and poetry. However, pressure from his people obliged his father to order his return home about 1808 to be initiated. Although the "neighbouring Kafirs" were said to be as much displeased with his new habits as his family were satisfied, he may well have influenced Nxele at this time. (129) Dyani Tshatshu went back to Bethelsdorp after his circumcision, and he was one of those who had a dramatic conversion experience in the revival of 1814 and who became an evangelist. (130)

Nxele's conversion seems to have taken place about the time the Xhosa were expelled from the Zuurveld after the Fourth Frontier War (1811-12). His father was dead and he moved with his mother to live among Ndlambe's followers in the coastal reaches of the Gwanga River. (131) Peires shows that the unconventional fighting methods of the Xhosa had given them the advantage over the colonial forces in the two previous wars, but in the Fourth War they experienced for the first time the full military might of the British. The scorched earth tactics which destroyed the crops of the Xhosa cultivators, and their forced removal over the Fish River, were traumatic experiences. (132) It was but a short step to associate the superior fighting power of the British with a superior spiritual power.

Because the white men had come from across the ocean, their origin was thought to be in the spirit-world below the sea, (133) and they were associated with the fair-skinned spirits known as "people from the

water",abantu abasemanzini. (134) White was the colour of the ancestor spirits, (135) and its symbolic association with mystical power was appropriated by the diviners. (136) Sea and water symbolized purity and life-giving force. (137) Thus the religion of the white man was linked with the mystical power of the spirits who lived below the water; and his book, the Bible, was thought to contain the secrets of his great wisdom. (138)

It is evident that the socio-cultural experience of the western Xhosa was becoming increasingly disturbed so as to create a greater need to find new sources of power with which to explain and control the new situation. But the pace of change was still not sufficient to threaten social cohesion and the authority of the tradition continued to remain intact. Therefore Christianity, in its western cultural package, was not yet a viable option except for those who had become loosened from the corporate body such as misfits and refugees. But as we have shown, cultural diffusion had prepared the way for the incorporation of new ideas from Christianity. This corresponds with the Search Stage in Cumpsty's model and this is where Nxele moved.

2.2.2 Life the Missionaries: Preaching

Nxele was well suited to interpret the new in terms of the old, but he only moved to this position gradually. After his conversion he was as enthusiastic an evangelist as his Bethelsdorp brethren, and his early teaching follows the missionary line with its criticism of Xhosa customs and practices. Like Vanderkemp he said that he had been sent by the "Chief of Heaven and Earth and of all things", and that they must put away evil so that their land might prosper. Witchcraft was the emobodiment of evil and so the command to forsake witchcraft was entirely comprehensible within the Xhosa thought-world. But the injunction not to spill blood was quite contrary to the Xhosa order of things and could indicate the pacifist influence of Vanderkemp. (139)

The people bound Nxele with leather thongs and tied a rope around his neck, saying, "you are mad". He answered, "I am not mad. You say that people die, but they do not. They go to that Chief". A man named Qalanga became fearful of his authority and said, "Take the rope from off his neck, and say Camagu!" This they did. Camagu is a religious term meaning be appeased or pacified, and is usually addressed to an ancestor or an officiating diviner. (140) But it could also be used by a chief's

followers to ask that a man condemned to death be given a second hearing. (141) Nxele was taken before Ndlambe who tried to obtain proof of his power by urging him to forecast the future.

There was a type of traditional doctor called imboni (142) or igogo, (143) who was credited with second sight. He did not use the customary ukuvumisa method of divination with hand-clapping, but was said to have been given oracular powers, ukuhlaba isihlabo, by the ancestors through dreams and visions. (144) He was able to see things happening elsewhere and so recover stolen property, especially stock; and to foretell events in the near future, such as predicting forthcoming weather and the coming of an enemy. (145) Nxele's Gonaqua mother was reputedly a seer and this may well have been one of the skills acquired by the Xhosa from the Khoi. (146)

The igogo's revelations were of national importance. Oral tradition relates that Nxele was cast in this role, and Ndlambe called his whole chiefdom together to hear him, as was the custom. (147) Nxele said that he had been sent by the same Lord who had sent Vanderkemp and that they must keep only their senior wives, and refrain from adultery, ox-racing, stealing and warfare. He warned that if they refused to obey, a great fire would come from heaven and consume the whole country. He also told them that the dead would rise again, and prophesied that strange people would come from the east and that the Xhosa would be constantly at war. This reference to the Mfengu (Fingoes) and the upheavals of the Mfecane is similar to a prophecy of Ntsikana's. It could well have been based on an astute reading of military intelligence as Shaka was just beginning his rise to power and wars of conflict that sent the Zulu refugees south. (148) Traffic between the northern and southern Nguni allowed for the advance warning of such movements. (149)

Nxele's revelations caused a tremendous stir. Some people were impressed saying that he "must have fallen from heaven". Others called him a liar and accused him of scheming to make himself a chief. Ndlambe took the practical step of having his background thoroughly investigated, and was apparently satisfied as he made a generous offering. Nxele would only accept a gift of cattle collected from the people and asked that they should come and listen to his messages. But despite his denials he was in fact treated like a chief. He set up his own Great Place and took two Ndlambe followers. This was unusual as chiefs were born not made, and Nxele was a commoner. Not even the Khoi and San rainmakers whom the

Xhosa had patronized over the years seem to have been given political status.

There is no way of dating Nxele's development with any certainty as most accounts were written some time later and focus on the more outlandish aspects of his career. However, it seems that prior to 1816 he was in the habit of going into the Colony and spending much time in the newly established British headquarters at Grahamstown where he would regularly visit the chaplain, the Rev. A. A Vanderlingen. Nxele's great delight was said to be in eliciting "information in regard to the doctrines of Christianity", and in puzzling Vanderlingen in return "with metaphysical subtleties or mystical ravings". (150) He also discussed war and "the mechanical arts" with the military officers and showed "an insatiable curiosity and an acute intellect". (151)

In the gap between Vanderkemp's mission and the founding of Williams's station, the missionaries at Bethelsdorp were frequently asked by certain Xhosa chiefs, Ndlambe included, to come and instruct them. (152) At the beginning of 1816, Read reported that "a singular individual, a native, was going from place to place, calling the attention of the people to religion; declaiming against war, and exhorting his countrymen to pray to the true God". His kraal was known as the "Praying Caffres", and he had repeatedly sent word to Read to come and minister to them. This could only have been Nxele. Read appears to have met him in Grahamstown and was promised that when he was ready he must light a fire as a signal on his side of the Fish River, and Nxele's people would immediately come and bring him safely over. (153)

When Read and Williams set off on their exploratory tour of Xhosaland on 1 April 1816, they were accompanied by a group of Bethelsdorp people including Dyani Tshatshu as interpreter. (154) When they reached the Fish River they lit fires as arranged but no one came. However, they made a safe crossing and were just about to hold a thanksgiving service when they were surrounded by about one hundred Xhosa, the men all armed with assegais. When these people learnt who the mission party were, they laid down their weapons saying that they were followers of Makanna (Nxele), who had taught them to abstain from bloodshed, theft, witchcraft and adultery. But Read complained that except for one woman, they were more interested in begging for beads than in asking for the word of God.

The missionaries first visit was to Kobus Congo, son

of Chungwa. Tshatshu made a great impression praying in Xhosa. Congo was too young to commit himself to receiving a missionary without first consulting the other chiefs. Significantly Nxele was by now accepted as a chief together with Ngqika and Ndlambe.

The next stop was Nxele's Great Place. A prayer meeting was held on the Sabbath with about a thousand people present. Tshatshu began with a discourse on Galatians 1. Nxele followed and spoke at length:

> He commenced with the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, which event he proved from shells being found on the tops of the highest mountains. He upbraided the Caffres for their blindness and hardness of heart; said they drank water without thinking of the water of life; they go through the thorns without thinking that Taay [Christ] was crowned with thorns. He said that God would come again, not with water but with fire; - that Dali (God) first sent to them Jankanna [Dr Vanderkemp] but that they would not listen to him, and he had left them; - that he had gone first to the Boors, and then to the despised nation (the Hottentots) who had received the word; - that Dali had now raised up a raw Caffre to warn them; and, above all, had now sent Jankanna's son [Read], and the child Tzatzoo [Tshatshu], to bear witness to the word; - that the Caffres clung to their wives and concubines; but they must know they had to do with the living God; - that now he should not speak a single word more to them, but leave what he had said to their consideration.

Of interest here is Nxele's choice of biblical references which are all concerned with divine interventions. His use of imagery relating to thorn bushes and the water of life was standard Christian teaching but caught the imagination by relating to the existential experience of the Xhosa. Nxele's use of Dali (Mdali), the Xhosa God-name referring to origin and creation, instead of Thixo as used by the missionaries, reflects his attempt to interpret his understanding of the Christian concept of God within the Xhosa thought-world. But Tayi (Taay) was a word he coined for Christ and its

origin is unknown. Up to this point Nxele still followed the missionary line of preaching but in a subsequent conversation with Read he showed that he was beginning to make claims that were unacceptable to Christianity. Read's account is invaluable in dating this move as being early in 1816:

> He seemed to have a general knowledge of the Fall of Adam, the Deluge, the Motion of the Earth, the Crucifixion of Christ, Eternal Punishment, etc. but was deficient in a real knowledge of himself, and of the gospel: he also entertained a most strange notion of his birth, as derived from the same mother as Christ; but I sometimes thought that, when he should gain more light, he would find that he is the new birth, through which he might call Christ his brother. He said that he never made long discourses to the Caffres; for they would forget the first part by listening to the last; he said a little to them at a time, and bid them go and think of it, and come again; - that although the Caffres would not at first listen, he felt it his duty to continue preaching. Taay would one day breathe his wind into their mouths, ears, etc. and then they would be obedient.

Peires notes that Nxele's claim to be the younger brother of Christ should be understood in the classificatory rather than the literal sense. (155) Nonetheless, he was undoubtedly drawing on messianic associations for his authority.

Read's observations about people praying to Tayi show that Nxele's teaching was quite widely known among the western Xhosa. Moreover, the custom of retiring to the bush to pray was encouraged by him. He directed his followers to hide themselves among the trees, in the recesses of rocks, or in ravines. The linking of prayer to the power of "the word" in Xhosa tradition was seen as the means whereby the followers of Christianity could tap the supposedly superior power of the white man's God. Hence the designation of Nxele's people as the praying Xhosa. Nxele also instructed his people to bury their dead, threatening divine retribution on those who disobeyed. (156) Read is known to have reprimanded the

Xhosa for abandoning dying people in the bush, (157) but Nxele could have been influenced in his teaching as much by his Khoi antecedents and experience of their practices, as by missionizing. Certainly Khoi cultural diffusion paved the way.

Nonetheless, despite these examples of Nxele's influence, his role as an evangelist had met with minimal response. Even his followers were selective in what they wished to hear, the emphasis being on the thaumaturgical. Read was told tht the Xhosa were as little likely to take heed of Nxele's preaching of the word of God, as they had of Vanderkemp's message. No matter that the gospel was presented by one of their own, in Xhosa, its exposition in terms of western cultural practice was unacceptable. Ndlambe maintained that he was willing that there should be an end to bloodshed, theft and witchcraft; but it was impossible for him to put away his young wives. The polygynous marriage of a chief had political and economic implications as well as social ones. Undaunted, Nxele is said to have confronted his chief with "great boldness", saying "that if they would not leave sin, they might expect the consequences; - that God had first made one man, and from him had taken a rib; - that he thought if man was to have hade more wives than one, God would have made more for Adam; and wished to know by what authority the Caffres had to keep more".

In their discussions together Nxele plied Read with questions about the king of England, the king's father, the British constitution, etc. as well as about religion. Nxele in turn told Read about his conversion, but refused to elaborate on his knowledge of Christ because he said he would "burst into tears".

Tshatshu, Congo, Nxele and Ndlambe all pressed persuasive claims for Williams to settle among them. There was much ill-feeling when a site was chosen in the Kat River valley near to Ngqika's Great Place. The colonists treated Ngqika as king but he did not have the power and authority with which he was credited and this had political repercussions. Read notes that Ndlambe and Nxele wished to act independently of Ngqika, indicating the build up of tension among the western Xhosa. He also observes a paucity of cattle and wild animals in the region, hence the propensity for cattle-stealing across the border.

Read was in two minds about Nxele's usefulness to them. Although his preaching was "very defective", and sometimes inconsistent, it had been effective in preparing the minds of the Xhosa. At the same time Read was wary of

the fact that he had been "peculiar" since childhood, and that he encouraged the Xhosa in thinking that he was a very great man with miraculous powers. (158) In fact, it was soon after this meeting that Nxele moved rapidly away from Christianity and evolved his own doctrine.

2.2.3 A Thaumaturgical Response to Socio-Cultural Disturbance

Nxele had already acquired status as a chief. He now began to function as a diviner and war doctor, rapidly gaining in power. In complete contradiction to his earlier teaching, he smeared his body with red ochre and took two San wives. Much of the time he remained aloof, with a solemn and abstracted air as befitted a traditional doctor, but evinced a fiery eloquence when addressing the people. He would work himself up into an ecstatic state through the xhentsa dance of the diviner. Proof of his power was given in his clairvoyant gifts in tracing the whereabouts of stolen animals. (159) The crowds began to flock. Before long he acquired a large following and was regarded as the supreme doctor, intonga yakwomkhulu, attached to Ndlambe and protector of the whole chiefdom. (160) Whereas he had previously rejected gifts, he now demanded cattle as tribute for his services. He insisted that they should be of a certain colour - black, red and dun-coloured - and that the cows should be heavy in calf. (161) On occasion he would even demand specific animals which he claimed to have seen in a dream. Such was his influence that none dared refuse him for fear of having all their cattle seized by Ndlambe, and of bringing down divine wrath on the whole chiefdom. (162) He acquired power over all the principal chiefs, except for Ngqika who "feared and hated him", and was consulted on all matters of importance. (163)

Various reasons have been given for Nxele's sudden and complete change of behaviour. There is the question of personal aggrandisement. He is seen as playing the rival chiefs off one against the other in order to gain status. His religious development is thus regarded as the key to his satisfying his ambitions for personal power. (164) Others stress the widening gap between him and the missionaries, of their failure to build upon his work and of his increasing realization that he would not be accepted by them on equal terms in the evangelization of his people, let alone the acceptance of his claim to divine authority and inspiration. (165) Above all there was the rapid deterioration in relations between the Xhosa

themselves, and between Ndlambe and the colonial authorities, which fostered a nationalistic fervour and the need to tap new sources of power with which to resist the white advance. (166)

The struggle for power between Ndlambe and Ngqika, aggravated by colonial interference, was as critical as the colonial pressure directed against Ndlambe himself. At the Kat River conference in 1817, Governor Somerset confirmed Ngqika's position as the leading chief and English ally, by investing him with authority which gave him sole control of the traffic between Xhosaland and the Colony, as well as promising him aid in the event of attack by other chiefs. Ndlambe made independent overtures of peace to the government soon afterwards, with Nxele playing a leading role, but these were spurned. Instead, a commando was sent with the express intention of capturing Ndlambe and rounding up his cattle as a reprisal for stock losses in the Colony. The Ndlambe faction bitterly resented this act of colonial aggression, the more so as the followers of Ngqika and allied chiefs were equally culpable of cattle-stealing. Some of the minor clans came over to Nxele but Ngqika refused to recognize him and sponsored his rival, Ntsikana, instead, which added to the political tension. (167)

The confrontation between black and white on the Xhosa-Cape frontier revolved around the critical issue of land. The Xhosa were cultivators, pastoralists and hunters. This meant that they not only needed large areas of land for grazing cattle, but that they also needed a complex range of environmental resources which involved access to different types of land. In the past these needs had been met by freedom of movement ever westward. The Xhosa expansion was also related to segmentation in the chiefdoms. With each succeeding generation population pressure and social tensions were relieved by allowing the sons of reigning chiefs to hive off with their followers and found chiefdoms in new territories. (168) It was a system suited to the unlimited availability of land.

In the 1770s, the western Xhosa were confronted by the eastward expansion of the white farmers. Both groups had similar agricultural needs and competition for land soon led to conflict. Cattle raiding was the typical Xhosa mode of warfare, but the friction on the frontier inevitably erupted in fighting and from 1779 on there was a succession of border skirmishes and wars which were to continue for one hundred years.

Different concepts concerning the ownership of land and political authority compounded the tensions between

black and white. As Peires observes, in pre-colonial Xhosa society, "the commoners possessed the means of production but did not own them ... ownership was vested in the chief". Moveover, "the chief's rights of ownership were not vested in him as an individual ... but in him as a representative of the state". (169) The chief held the land in trust for his people and administered it according to the differing needs of his followers. (170) The problem was that the power of the state was weak. Misconceptions arose when the colonial authorities tried to negotiate with leading chiefs under the impression that they headed a centralized authority. Successive governors tried to demarcate boundaries between the colonists and the Xhosa but these were meaningless in terms of Xhosa custom concerning the usufructory rights of land and the independence of the different chiefdoms.

The expulsion of Ndlambe and other semi-independent chiefs from the Zuurveld in 1812 was a crucial event because it marked the beginning of a concerted effort by the colonists to turn back the tide of the Xhosa; and with each succeeding war they were driven further east. The consequences are well summed up by Galbraith:

> These were the considerations that guided the governors of the Cape after each war; each new line of demarcation was designed to enhance security. But each new boundary further compressed the territory of the tribes and contributed to a sense of acute frustration and resentment which led to further wars. Though expelled from their lands, the chiefs and tribes would not relinquish the determination to return, if not by consent, then by force ...
>
> There was an unbridgeable chasm between the two viewpoints. To the chief, the land belonged to his tribe, and remained their patrimony though they might be ejected from it by superior force. To the governor, his obligation, which transcended all tribal rights, was the maintenance of peace; the tribes might stay only if they remained peaceful and inoffensive. (171)

Apart from economic and political considerations, the Xhosa, in common with other African people, had a mystical

attachment to the land through their ancestors. In pre-colonial times, the corpses of chiefs and leading men were either hidden away in inaccessible bush or caves, or committed to a river pool. (172) Later, when the Xhosa came to live in open country, the chiefs were buried in their cattle kraals, the place of the ancestors. All these grave sites were holy places, where men went to meet their ancestors, and the land became sanctified by this association. The ancestors were believed to be the guardians of the land and men could not move away at will without fear of alienating the blessings and protection of the ancestors. (173) Mqhayi's understanding of this religious association is influenced somewhat by his Christian concept of God, but it still reflects the basic attitude of the Xhosa to the land:

> When a Xhosa chooses a site to establish himself, he chooses at the same time his grave and the temple to offer worship to God Almighty, whom he approaches through his ancestry ... While he is doing that, the Xhosa knows that he will be buried on that site, unless he is forced to move by war or some other major disruptions. (174)

The arbitrary removal of the Xhosa by the colonial authorities thus struck at the roots of their traditional beliefs. The religious issues were integrally linked with the political and economic factors and required a religious response together with the necessary military or political action. As Ndlambe became the focus of Xhosa resistance to the white advancement, so did Nxele's rise to power as supreme doctor become pivotal in orchestrating this resistance.

Nxele's response to the escalation in socio-cultural disturbance was to formulate a thaumaturgical doctrine which incorporated Christian symbols of the apocalyptic kind within his old world of reference in order to obtain power and bring about that which he prophesied. Although he included appropriate new elements, he sought to maintain, proclaim and bring his society into what was claimed to be the old tradition. His complete rejection of missionary teaching is not as extreme as it might seem because he had never been a Christian. With Christianity there is always a separating out process. Only where there is a radical gap between the created and the

creator, a separation between the sacred and the secular, between the natural and the supernatural, does the cosmic divinity of a monistic world become the transcendent God of Christianity. Whereas Ntsikana moved to transcendent monotheism, Nxele remained rooted in the monistic world view.

It would seem that not only was Nxele the psychological type for thaumaturgical power but that his background was also partly responsible. His strange looks, his part Khoi breeding, his commoner status, his upbringing among the Boers, and his mother's move after his father's death, may all have made him feel a misfit in Xhosa society and provided motivation towards acceptance as a leader. He tried everything and when attempts to be like the missionaries failed to gain him a following he was quick to respond to what his people needed. His change was not necessarily a conscious act and could involve a real conversion. He was rewarded not only with a sense of belonging but also with status at the highest level. He conformed enough to custom to be accepted by the Xhosa. At the same time he was seen as representing a link with the white source of power; and Xhosa society was sufficiently disturbed to be prepared to incorporate this figure into their system, just as they had incorporated the Khoisan and missionaries as rain doctors.

Nationalism has often been born in conflict. Moreover, a boundary of conflict can be more porous to cultural influence than a boundary of friendship because even while resisting another culture you seek to attract some of their power to your side. Bryan Wilson defines the thaumaturgical response as "the belief in, and demand for, supernatural communications and manifestations of power that have immediate personal significance". (175) The apocalyptic symbols of Christianity fulfilled the Xhosa demand for enhanced power. At the same time, there would not have been the overwhelmening support for Nxele unless he had totally identified himself with the Xhosa experience, articulated their aspirations in terms of their traditional thought-patterns, and promised them a mode of action in bringing about the new age which conformed with their cultural tradition. The doctrine which he evolved met the needs of his people and his charismatic leadership and the signs and proofs of special powers gave him the necessary authority. Even though his original authority was derived from the special knowledge of the new social order of the whites, in his activist stage it was derived from the indigenous order and new-found wealth and politico-religious power.

Nxele taught that there were two gods, Thixo the god of the white people, and Dalidiphu, a distinct and superior being who was god of the black race. (176) Dalidiphu had created all things, even the "diep" (the Dutch for "deep"), hence the derivation of his name. His one wife had very long pendant breasts. She lived in "the reservoir of heaven", and had control over the rain. "When she turned her face from man, no rain fell". Their son was Tayi, who had been murdered by the whites. They had therefore been expelled from their own land and become "the citizens of the great deep, the sea out of which they now emerged, carrying sword and fire, in search of land". Dalidiphu was the father of the great chiefs called umlondekhaya (lit. the protector of the home : the name by which the reigning king was addressed and which was associated with the ancestors who protect), (177) as well as Tayi, and they all combined to protect the blacks against the assaults of the other god. Nxele was the younger brother of Tayi, who was sent to this world from out of Uluhlanga.

Nxele also taught "they were not required by their god to sit and sing M'De-e, M'De-e, all day and pray with their faces to the ground and their backs towards the Almighty, which their god would take as an insult". Their creator liked joyful dances and making love, that the blacks might "by all means multiply and fill the earth". Dalidiphu did not regard fornication and adultery as sins, and he allowed polygamy. According to Nxele, the white men had "many and great sins". Dalidiphu would therefore punish Thixo and all his worshippers. Nxele himself was Dalidiphu's agent to destroy all whites as enemies, and to bring to life all their people who had died as well as their cattle.

The new ideas which Nxele incorporated to revitalize the tradition, though innovations, were entirely consistent with traditional concepts and offered a new mode of explanation and control to keep the impending chaos at bay. Dalidiphu was linked with Uhlanga, the source of all things, and iNkosi Enkhulu, the great chief, a God-name which depicted the supreme being as having power over the elements. Thunder and lightning were now attributed to Dalidiphu and Nxele constantly warned his people about the fire that would come from heaven and consume them. They believed that he had the power to send lightning too and he was greatly feared. (178) He introduced a new purification ritual to appease the wrath of his deity when man or beast was killed by lightning. (179) In addition, by linking Dali, the God-name

associated with creation, with the deep, Nxele's divinity acquired the mystical power of the sea from the whites and so became more powerful than their God.

Nxele associated Tayi, the son of his deity, as coming into the world from out the source with the Christian concept of God sending his son into the world. Both Dalidiphu and Tayi were said to live here on earth, under the water, and to be in league with the ancestors and "people from the water". (180) Nxele's followers had to praise his divinities when crossing a river, saying,

"A! Tayi! Hail! Tayi!
A! Dalidiphu! Hail! Maker of the Great Deep!" (181)

The praise of Nxele himself related to his left-handedness: the word "Nxele" also being used to refer to an ox whose left horn was either bent down or broken off. (182)

> One who makes a superficial stab wound the assegai cannot go in,
> One with horns curving inward,
> The black swallow which plays in the clouds,
> One with horns curving inward with a hanging head ornament. (183)

Apart from the overtly Christian influences in Nxele's doctrine, there are also possible Khoisan influences derived from his Gonaqua ancestors, his San wives or the Khoi who lived amongst the Xhosa. Both the Khoi and the San divinities were associated with the elements. In Khoi myth there was also the idea of the divinities engaging in battle, good ultimately triumphing over evil. Two of the divinities were credited with having died a number of times and of having come repeatedly back to life. The Khoi divinities were all male and none had wives, but the most prominent figure in Cape San mythology had a wife and children. (184)

It is not possible to assess the Khoisan influence in Nxele's thinking but it is significant that the main Christian concepts which he incorporated had their counterparts in Khoi cosmology, showing that his religious innovations were part of a continuing process. As the Xhosa experience broadened in the conflict situation of the early nineteenth century, so did Nxele's doctrine enable the background god of the Xhosa to expand so as to become a cosmic divinity who filled the widening horizons

of their new world. However, although the Xhosa god became bigger, their world view remained monistic. The only new dimension was a shift in emphasis.

Nxele's teaching on morality incorporated new ideas too but remained concerned with retaining harmony and balance, and was still involved with relationships, as in the tradition. There was no sense of moving into a dynamic situation where the emphasis was on creating a new future with a concomitant concern in individual achievement. He totally rejected the Christian concept of sin together with missionary teaching on western moral precepts. Tayi was not going to save them from their sins, but rather from their enemies who were the sinners. Witchcraft was their only sin.

Nxele ordered purification rituals in order that the people would not die from witchcraft and would be without sin. (185) Although his admonishments against witchcraft may initally have been influenced by missionary teaching, the purification was from something real in his people's experience: from anger, hate, lust and greed, which were symbolized in witchcraft.

From an analytical point of view witchcraft can be seen as anti-structure. Its eradication was aimed at overcoming all divisions within the corporate body. It was a religious response that went much deeper than the political reality. Even so it had profound political implications in bringing about social cohesion on as wide a front as possible. When an African society is under stress there may well be an increase in witchcraft accusations as a result of internal pressure, and this threatens the very fabric of the social structure. Witchcraft-eradication movements which have surfaced throughout Central and Southern Africa during times of acute pressure have been a means of restoring broken relationships within a society and re-establishing the harmony so as to unite people in resisting the alien intrusion. (186)

2.2.4 The Promised Rising of the Ancestors

The increase in pressure caused by the white advance on Xhosa territory was identified by Nxele some time between 1816 and 1818 as follows:

> "There they come!" he said, "They have crossed the Qagqiwa (Zwaartkops River) and they have crossed the Nqweba (Sunday River); only one river more, the Nxuba (Fish River), and they

> will be in our land. What will become of you then?" (187)

Nxele then went on to offer his people a course of action which was grounded in their traditional world view but promised to tap new sources of power. He claimed to have had a vision:

> Dalidiphu appeared to me and spoke to me saying, "Tell my people to prepare themselves for action. They must kill all dun-coloured cattle". He will cause all the dead to rise from their graves. They will come out of the sea, ready and armed to the teeth. The sea is ready to give them up. Go to the sea, you will hear a wonderful sound, Gompo; Gompo. When you hear the sound sing aloud and dance, calling the name of Ta-ee (Tayi) - the broad-breasted (Sifubasibanzi) son of Dalidiphu - whose name is a charm against witchcraft and all manner of evil. Then you will hear a big sound Gompo! and then the resurrection of the dead. (188)

Gompo derives its name from the sound which the sea makes when the waves break against the huge cavernous rock (Cove Rock) projecting into the sea near East London. It is said to be the home of the chiefs of the "people from the water". (189) Nxele promised that the dead would rise from beneath the rock, while all those who were witches would be seized and placed in a cavern below, "where they would be punished for ever by the waves of the sea breaking upon them". (190)

The corporate resurrection of the ancestors was a new idea assimilated from Christianity. But again it can be shown that Khoi cosmology had prepared the way with its rich body of myths incorporating the theme of resurrection.

The ritual propitiation of the ancestors by slaughtering cattle conformed with traditional belief and practice except that now it was on a national scale. The symbolism of offering a dark coloured animal is not known but the selection of a specific colour would have given it ritual significance. Nxele's appeal to the founding fathers of all the Xhosa was a means of transcending the fragmented political units and of uniting the "believers" in performing a "national sacrifice" that would bring the departed into action once and for all. The idea of the

ancestors rising from a cave was derived from the Xhosa myth of origin which designated their source as a cavern in the east. Tayi had come from out this source and the calling of his name would be the sign for him to bring the ancestors out of the underworld. Tayi would also protect the Xhosa from all evil spirits. God had become active through his son and would assist the ancestors in leading the Xhosa to victory over the white forces of disruption.

It seems clear that, under the influence of both the European disturbing presence and Christian ideas following upon a culturally fluid period in their own history, the traditional Xhosa cosmogonic myth became more concerned with a coming-to-be, which is nearer the Christian understanding of creation, and ceased to reflect so strongly a time past at another level of existence. Yet is is clear that for Nxele the return of the dead was not simply resurrection from the grave but a coming again by the same route which the first ancestors of man had taken. And the slaughtering on a national scale was a sending back of the cattle from whence they had originally come in the assurance that they would come again bringing the ancestors with them. In the strange paradox we see in the story of Abraham of old, there is the need to express faith by destroying that in which the faith is rooted and so force the hand of fate. For Abraham it was his long-awaited heir, for the Xhosa, their cattle. The timeless cyclical sense of the cosmos was clearly still present in spite of the pressures towards a more transcendent sense of deity, and its corollary, a beginning in time. In addition, by defining Xhosaness in terms of a national character, Nxele projected a unity that had not previously existed. In this way he was able to mobilize his people into confronting the threat of foreign domination.

Ngqika's collaboration with the colonial authorities excluded him from joining Ndlambe and the other chiefs. Moreover, his abduction and marriage to Thuthula, the wife of Ndlambe, intensified the animosity between the two factions. In Xhosa law this was an incestuous relationship and a grave violation of custom. Such was the fear of divine retribution because of Ngqika's wrongdoing that many of his followers deserted to Ndlambe. Nxele made political capital out of the situation by saying that Ngqika must not hear his news because the chief was a sinner. Nxele's people were awestruck by his open defiance of the Rharhabe paramount, which graphically demonstrated his new position of power.

As the longed for resurrection day drew near, cattle

came pouring in to Nxele from all sides. (191) As a preliminary measure he ordered the people to have a great hunt and then assemble at Gompo. He was supported by the chiefs Ndlambe and Phato and their followers flocked in their thousands. They were instructed to ritually purify themselves by washing in the sea water and then dance on the beach, hopping on one foot crying "Tayi! Tayi". Nxele proposed to make a spectacular leap from a rock near the shore to one further out to sea. This would be the signal for the rising of the ancestors.

Despite the people's exertions the day wore on and nothing happened. Come nightfall they became impatient and clamoured for Nxele to leap, saying that they were cold and tired of waiting. But Nxele made no move. He censured them for yelling their war cry as they had entered the water and said that seeing that they had chosen to follow their own way and flout his instructions, they must now return home. He continued his vigil while most of the multitude dispersed. Only a few remained to feast on the spoils of their hunt.

The rationalization of the failure of Nxele's prophecy in terms of the infringement of his ritual instructions was justified in Xhosa belief and practice. Some people expressed dissatisfaction but his prestige was not seriously affected. Many of his other predictions were said to have been fulfilled and this supposed proof of his powers served only to swell his following. (192) His fame spread even as far afield as Mpondoland.

An Mfengu refugee named Gwija recalls how shortly after the death of Bhungane, Chief of the Hlubi among the northern Nguni, (193) his followers were scattered by Shaka and a remnant found refuge in Faku's country, between the Umzimvubu and Umzimkulu Rivers. He goes on to say:

> We had not been very long there before we hear that there was a long distance off towards the setting of the sun a very wise doctor who had power to be ever victorious over every enemy who should come against them. This report created a great sensation throughout the different tribes, which led the chiefs to dispatch Messengers to consult this doctor with strict orders that they were not to return without seeing him. (194)

It was a year before the messengers returned bringing with them an amazing account of the powers of the doctor,

Nxele. They were instructed to slaughter all their red cattle and goats, and to destroy their corn. Should they refuse, Nxele threatened to annhilate them by "causing the heaven and earth to meet together and bury all unbelievers". If they obeyed, he promised to cause all their ancestors to rise from the dead with huge herds of cattle. They were also promised that they would be ever victorious over their enemies and invulnerable from their weapons. But they were warned that if the dead should rise and find that Nxele's commands had not been faithfully heeded, he would direct the ancestors to destroy all unbelievers.

The ever growing stream of refugees into Mpondoland was evidence enough of the depredations to the north and the people under Faku's jurisdiction were only too eager to obey Nxele in the hope of protecting themselves against the Zulu war-mongers. They slaughtered their red cattle but took great care not to kill any unnecessarily that had the least patch of white on them. After having destroyed large numbers of stock and quantities of corn without any sign of Nxele's predictions coming true, the chiefs sent a second and bigger group of messengers southward. These messengers never reached Nxele, most of them being killed on the way. Only two returned to tell the news of the disaster. No more messengers were sent but the people were still expectant and their hopes were reinforced by the rising of a woman prophet in their midst. She lived in a cave and claimed to have spoken with the ancestors, who were said to be "putting on their mortal dress" prior to their appearance on earth. She ordered further elaborate ritual procedures to be carried out by all the clans but again violations were held responsible for delaying the resurrection. The chiefs eventually lost patience and had the woman put to death. But their followers feared that this would precipitate a great calamity. Sure enough, two months later, they came under an onslaught by Matiwane on the one side, and Shaka's army on the other, and were dispersed. (195)

It was now that Ntsikana emerged to challenge Nxele and to preach the rival doctrine of Christianity.

NOTES - CHAPTER 2

1. His name was spelt both Vanderkemp and Van der Kemp but he generally used the former version himself.
2. Briggs (1952); I.H. Enklaar, De Levensgeschiedenis van J.T. Van der Kemp tot zijn aankomst aan de Kaap in 1799 (Wageningen, 1972); Martin (1931); Memoir of the Rev. J.T. Van der Kemp, late Missionary in South Africa (London, 1812).
3. S.G. Millin, The Burning Man (London, 1952). Vanderkemp also features in her book on Coenraad de Buys, King of the Bastards (London, 1950).
4. E.g. Clinton (1937); Du Plessis (1911); Sales (1975); Williams (1960).
5. J.T.Vanderkemp, "Conversion and Call", Transactions of the Missionary Society I (London, 1795-1802) p. 352.
6. He wrote a treatise in Latin on Parmenides which was published in Edinburgh in 1781.
7. J. Philip, Researches in South Africa I (2 vols., London, 1828) p. 98. See also Martin (1931) pp. 33 et seq, and Vanderkemp's own testimony, Transactions I, pp. 352-9.
8. For an excellent overview of the Evangelical movement see G. Best, "Evangelicism and the Victorians" in The Victorian Crisis of Faith edited by A. Symondson (London, 1970) pp. 37-56.
9. Vanderkemp, "Conversion and Call", Transactions I, pp. 358-9.
10. A general discussion on the missionary motivation is succinctly dealt with in M. Warren, "The Church Militant Abroad: Victorian Missionaries" in Symondson (1970) pp. 57-70. See also M. Warren, "The Missionary Expansion of Ecclesia Anglicana" and A.F. Walls, "Missionary Vocation and the Ministry. The First Generation "in New Testament Christianity and the World edited by M.E. Glasswell and E.W. Fasholé-Luke (London, 1974) pp. 124-140 and 141-156.
11. R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895 I (2 vols., London 1899) p. 30.
12. The South African Society for Promoting the Extension of Christ's Kingdom: Du Plessis (1911) ch. XI.
13. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 366-371.
14. H. Giliomee, "The burgher rebellions on the Eastern Frontier, 1795-1815" in The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820 edited by R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (Cape Town, 1979) ch. 9. See also J.B. Scott, "The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800. A General Survey" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Port Elizabeth, 1968) pp. 138 et seq.
15. H. Giliomee, "The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812" in Elphick and Giliomee (1979) ch. 8. For a useful general discussion see W.M. Freund, "Thoughts on the Study of the History of the Cape Eastern Frontier Zone" in Beyond the Cape Frontier. Studies in the History of the Transkei and Ciskei edited by C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (London, 1974) ch. 3.
16. S. Newton-King and V.C. Malherbe, The Khoikhoi Rebellion in the Eastern Cape (1799-1803) (Communications no. 5, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1981).
17. This section is based on Peires (1981) ch. 4. See also J.B. Peires, "Ngqika" in Black Leaders in Southern African History edited by C. Saunders (London, 1979) pp. 15-30.
18. W.M. Freund "The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony during the

Batavian Period (1803-1806)" in Journal of African History 13 (4) : pp. 631-45, 1972, for background information.

19. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 372-85.
20. Ibid., pp. 384-6.
21. Ibid., pp. 390-4.
22. De Buys was called Khula ("the big one") by the Xhosa: A.E. Schoeman, Coenraad de Buys (Pretoria, 1938).
23. For an evaluation of the role of the so-called "frontier ruffians" see M. Legassick, "The frontier tradition in South African historiography" in Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa edited by S. Marks and A. Atmore (London, 1980) pp. 65-7.
24. Lichtenstein (1812-1815) p. 365. Ngqika hoped to marry De Buys's teenage daughter as a means of cementing an alliance between himself and the Dutch: Peires (1981) p. 54.
25. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 395-400.
26. Williams (1960) p. 148, maintains that the name should be spelt Nyengane but all other sources give the other spelling.
27. Bokwe (1914) p.5. Other names given to Vanderkemp were Haniza, T'Chefoe, Goboossi, Tabeka and Keleze: Transactions I, pp. 396, 400, 418. The strange orthography makes the meaning uncertain except that gobisa means "to cause to bend" as in bending the knees (in prayer): Kropf (1915) p.21.
28. Wauchope (1908) p. 19. Wauchope gives the wrong meaning as being "to put down secretly" from the verb ukuti nyenge; and maintains that Vanderkemp "was regarded as having secretly stolen away from his own people who were the enemies of the Kafirs to bring them the light from above (enyangweni)". Mqhayi, in Bennie (1972), gives the meaning of Nyengana as "a bald head in front" (possibly derived from its translation as "marble"), which is an apt description of Vanderkemp's physical appearance.
29. Col.Collins's Report, 6 August 1809 in Moodie V (1837-41) p. 20.
30. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 403.
31. For a discussion of Maynier's policy see Giliomee (1979) pp. 344-6.
32. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 408-9.
33. "During the first British occupation there remained a large number of Dutch sympathisers at the colony, including pockets of Patriot supporters who were labelled Jacobins by the British and their colonial opponents": Freund (1979) p. 234.
34. Yonge to Dundas, 22 October 1800, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony III (London, 1897-1905) pp. 339-40.
35. This section is based on a useful discussion by Williams (1960) pp. 69 et seq, on the motives which governed the missionary acceptance by the chiefs.
36. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 395-418.
37. Wauchope (1908) p. 39.
38. Evidence of Dyani (Jan) Tshatshu: J. Read, "Narrative of the journey of Mr. Read and others to Caffraria", Transactions of the London Missionary Society IV (1818) p. 283; J. Philip. q. W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton (2nd ed., Oxford, 1963) p. 97.
39. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 408, 430.
40. Clinton (1937) p. 20.
41. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 292, gives a vivid description of his appearance when they first met at Algoa Bay.
42. Wauchope (1908) p. 21.
43. Williams (1960) p. 78.

44. See Vanderkemp's Third journey to "Caffraland", 10th to 26th August 1801, Transactions III, pp. 487-90.
45. Wauchope (1906) p. 18. gives the places as Shokoshela near Balfour (Kat River valley), Mkubiso (Burnshill), another at Debe near its junction with the Keiskamma River, opposite Marela's location, and an itanga (Cattle) station on the Tyhume. Kropf (1891) translation p. 1, names the place at Debe as Xukwane, not far from the later mission station Emdizeni (called Anders location in 1968). In 1908 Wauchope said that it was two miles from his station at Knapps Hope and only half a mile from his Debe church, named after Vanderkemp, and that there were still traces of the site, the cattle kraal and corn pits.
46. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 404. They found Bota, de Buys, two English deserters, a Hottentot and a Thembu living in a large oblong Xhosa hut.
47. Ibid., pp. 404-15.
48. Ibid., pp. 402-3, 411-2.
49. Ibid., pp. 416-22.
50. Backhouse (1844) p. 234; "History of Pirie Mission", MS 8968 (Cory Library, n.d.).
51. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 426, 431, 469-70.
52. Kay (1833) p. 282.
53. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 401-22.
54. Ibid., pp. 415, 423, 428-9.
55. Ibid., p. 396.
56. Ibid., pp. 398-9.
57. E.g. Proverbs 3:25, 26; 20:22; Ezekiel 2:6; 20:6; Jeremiah 10:19, 20; 13; 20, 22; Isiah 48: 10, 12, 17; 49:20, 21.
58. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 405, 410, 414-8.
59. These languages included Dutch, English, French, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persic, Syriac: Philip (1928) p. 133. After his conversion he made a study of the Oriental literature: Martin (1931) p. 53.
60. ""Woordenlijst". Specimen of the Caffra Language by Dr. Vanderkemp" Transactions I, pp. 442-58. For other references see C.M Doke, "Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century", African Studies 18 (1): pp. 2-3, 1959.
61. Ibid., p. 418. For information on the incorporation of the Gonaqua see Harinck (1969) pp. 145-69.
62. Ibid., pp. 394-5, 402, 414.
63. Ibid., pp. 407, 410-1.
64. Ibid., pp. 412-3.
65. Ibid., pp. 416, 419-21. In August 1800, Vanderkemp reported that he was instructing "five heathen women, one Hottentot boy, and one girl, one Caffree girl, one Tambouchi boy, and seven Bastards".
66. The valley below the "school" site at Quakobi became known as Intili ye Lawokazi, "the valley of the Hottentot women": Wauchope (1908) p. 19.
67. Mary, the Khoi "wife" of de Buys, was to have been baptized with her children after leaving Xhosaland but a theological dispute over baptism resulted in her husband refusing permission: Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 473.
68. Ibid., pp. 413, 417, 420-5.
69. Ibid., pp. 420-8.
70. Ibid. p. 428.
71. Ibid., p. 425.

72. Ibid., pp. 426, 430.
73. Kay (1833) pp. 282-3. Kay gives Sarah's husband's name as Lochenberg. See also Glasgow Missionary Society Autumn Quarterly Intelligence XIII: p. 15, 1841, for further information on Sarah by her daughter Anna, wife of Thomas Hoe. According to Anna her European father had gone beyond the Orange River, "where he became connected with her mother, and it was after this that they came into Kaffreland".
74. E.g. entry for 3rd June 1800: "We slept in the house of Khanja, son of Langa, who gave us milk, honey, corn, bread, meat, wine, and water-melons, and two houses for lodging": Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 418. See also pp. 408, 412, 417.
75. W.K. Kaye, "Gembali yokuqaleka" etc. (trans. J. Ayliff) "Tradition respecting the first intelligible acquaintance with God's word by the Kafirs", MS 172c, Grey Collection, S.A.L., n.d. Kaye could well be the same as William Koyi, who was born of heathen parents at Thomas River (Ngqika location) in 1846, became a member of the Wesleyan Church in 1869, attended Lovedale from 1871, and went to Livingstonia as an evangelist five years later: J. Stewart, Lovedale: Past and Present (Lovedale, 1887) pp. 125-9.
76. Callaway (1870) pp. 67-8.
77. For a discussion on the ritual word in other African societies see Ray (New Jersey, 1976) ch. 3.
78. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 402, 419, 423.
79. Wauchope (1908) pp. 20-2.
80. For a detailed analysis on the authenticity of this account see J. Hodgson, Ntsikana's "Great Hymn". A Xhosa Expression of Christianity in the Early 19th Centry Eastern Cape (Communications no. 4, Centre for African Studies, U.C.T., 1980) pp. 37-43.
81. The possible origins of this name for Christ will be discussed below under Ntsikana's prophecies and teaching.
82. Vanderkemp relates that when any person of distinction was taken ill, a "sorcerer" was consulted to discover the cause which was "always suspected to take its origin from the enchantments of some malevolent subject" and that the accused was immediately put to death : Transactions I, p. 468.
83. Taylor (1963) pp. 175-7. For a general discussion see M. Douglas, Purity and Danger (London, 1966).
84. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 397-8, 432.
85. Ibid., pp. 432-4.
86. Ibid., pp. 410, 439, 441, 467-8.
87. Ibid., p. 405.
88. Read's Narrative, 21st May 1816, Transactions IV (1813-18), p. 289.
89. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 414, 418, 424, 429.
90. Ibid., pp. 410-1, 422-3. In his "Specimen of the Caffra Language", Vanderkemp gives the word "Qeixa" for a magician, p. 451. This would be iggira, a Xhosa doctor or diviner. Kropf gives iggira lemvula as "one who pretends to make rain", (1915) p. 128.
91. Ibid., pp. 426-7.
92. Ibid., pp. 427-8, 480.
93. Kaye, MS 172c. See also Bokwe (1914) p. 45.
94. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) pp. 312-3.
95. Williams (1967) p. 6.

96. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 430-1. See also Read to Governor Cradock, 23rd January 1812, Transactions IV, p. 31.
97. A portrait in a cave near Whittlesea records his meeting with the San en route: Stow (1905) p. 201.
98. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 480, 487-9.
99. Ibid., p. 496.
100. Reports by Read, 1810 and 1812: Transactions IV, pp. 18, 301-7.
101. For further information on Read see Dictionary of South African Biography I edited by W.J. de Kock (Pretoria, 1968) pp. 666-9. See also B. Le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingham Papers (Johannesburg, 1976) and Williams (1967) ch. 8.
102. For a history of missionary activity at Bethelsdorp, 1800 - 1852, see Sales (1975).
103. Somerset to Bathurst, 23rd January 1817, in Theal, Records of the Cape Colony (36 vols., London, 1897-1905) p. 254. See also Sales (1975) ch. 5.
104. Letter from Read to L.M.S., 31st May 1816, Transactions IV, p. 279.
105. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 407, 412; Kay (1833) p. 283.
106. Kay (1833) pp. 277-8; Hammond-Tooke (1972) pp. 72, 165, 171.
107. Read, Transactions IV, pp. 287-90.
108. For a discussion on the subject see Williams (1960) pp. 69 et seq.
109. For a useful discussion on the missionary ethos in relation to the Xhosa mission field see Ashley (1980) pp. 28-38.
110. Campbell (1815). The Rev. John Campbell visited South Africa as a representative of the Directors of the L.M.S. in 1813 and 1814.
111. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) pp. 294-5.
112. Philip I (1828) pp. 98 et seq.
113. For further discussion see J. Hodgson, "Do we hear you Nyengana? Dr. J.T. Vanderkemp and the First Mission to the Xhosa", Religion in Southern Africa 5 (1): pp. 3-47, January 1984.
114. Kropf, Ntsikana translation (1891) p. 4; Soga (1930) p. 161. Another version of the oral tradition claims tht Nxele was the son of Gwala of the Cwera clan, and that he only went with his family to live with Balala after his father's death: Rubusana (1906) p. 191. According to Wauchope, no one knew his father's name because when he rose to be regarded as a chief, it was against Xhosa etiquette to associate him as being the son of a commoner: (1908) p. 33. Kaye gives a mythical tradition of his origin which would make him the illegitimate son of a chief: "Ati Maxosa enbalini yawo" etc. ("The Kafirs say in their tradition": This narrates the origin and rise of the prophet Nxele), MS 172c, n.d. (trans. Ayliff), Grey Collection, S.A.L., pp. 77-80.
115. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa Since 1795 I (5 vols., London 1908) p. 209.
116. Wauchope (1908) p. 33.
117. Rubusana (1906) p. 191.
118. iNxele: from nxe, side, and ele, which is strained from: lit. strained, weak or soft side, deficient part; a left-handed person: Döhne (1875) p. 249.
119. J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 160. See also Warner in Maclean (1858) pp. 81-4. For a contemporary description of the calling and initiation of a Xhosa diviner see de Jager and Gitywa (1963) pp. 109-16.
120. For a comparison with the miracle-working ascetic in European history see Cohn (1957) p. 41.

121. Döhne (1844) p. 59; Kaye, MS 172c, pp. 80-1. (Kropf (1891) is based upon Döhne).
122. For Vanderkemp's preaching at Bethelsdorp see Sales (1974) p. 38. For Read see Transactions IV, pp. 28, 300, 305.
123. The Annual Report of Bethelsdorp relates that the people of Chief Tshatshu's Kraal expressed their surprise when Read told them that the dead would hereafter be restored to life. Tshatshu said, "he hoped that this would take place before his death, that he might see his old friends again" : Transactions II (1804) p. 243. For a similar report see Campbell (1815) p. 366.
124. Kropf, Ntsikana translation (1891) p. 4; Theal (1908) p. 269.
125. Letter from J. Read on his return from Caffraria, 31 May 1896: Transactions IV, p. 284.
126. Transactions IV, pp. 28, 188. See also Martin (1931) p. 140; Sales (1974) pp. 40-1, 75-6. For a discussion on the role of dreams in African conversion see B. Sundkler, The Christian Ministry in Africa (London, 1960) pp. 24-5, 29-30.
127. See for example the many references in M.-L. Martin (1964); Moorcroft (1967) pp. 73-8; Turner (1979) pp. 124, 127, 185, 192, 206, 261.
128. Williams (1959) p. 255. For information on the amaNtinde see W.D. Hammond-Tooke, The Tribes of King William's Town District (Pretoria, 1958) pp. 100 et seq.
129. Maclean (1858) pp. 135-6; Moodie V (1838-41) Entry for 1809, p. 53.
130. Transaction I, p. 496 and IV, p.188.
131. Report by Lt. I. Stocker, 20 March 1820, in Theal Records XIII (1877-1905) p. 50; Kaye, MS 172c, p. 82.
132. Peires (1979) pp. 51-4.
133. Cook (c1931) pp. 103-4. See also Junod (1927) pp. 351-4; W.C. Willoughby, "Some Conclusions concerning the Bantu Concept of the Soul", Africa I: p. 346, 1928.
134. There is a difference of opinion as to whether "the people of the river" (abantu besemlanjeni, abantu bomlambo) and "the people of the sea" can be equated with the ancestor spirits: Hammond-Tooke (1975) pp. 20-1; Hunter (1961) pp. 488, 538; Laubscher (1937) pp. 1-6; Pauw (1975) p. 172 and n.1.
135. V.Z. Gitywa, "The arts and crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei: past and present" (M.A. thesis, University of Fort Hare, 1971) pp. 118, 146-8 (published in Fort Hare Papers 5(2), Sept. 1971). See also Berglund (1975) chs. 4 and 5.
136. Bigalke notes that "diviners are often called abantu abamhlope (people who are white) not only because their clothing and beads are mainly white but because they have knowledge ("light") to make people's way white (easy): (1969) p. 150 n. 11. See also a description of "white sickness" in Dwane (1979) pp. 126-9.
137. Z.S. Qangule, "A Study of Tshaka's poem "IGQILI", Limi I (2): pp. 1-3, June 1973.
138. Callaway (1870) pp. 78-81, 94 n.68. See also L. Levy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality (1923) pp. 360-83; Turner, "The Hidden Power of the Whites" (1979) ch. 23.
139. The account of Nxele's early teaching is taken from Döhne (1844) pp. 59-61; Kaye, MS 172c, pp. 82-7.
140. Kropf (1915) p. 55.
141. Laubscher (1937) pp. 67-8. See also his The Pagan Soul (Cape town, 1975) pp. 18-20.
142. Kropf (1915) pp. 40-1.

143. Iggira eliligogo : igogo is a type of antelope called klipspringer, (oreotragus oreotragus) which is shy and lives in rocky, wooded areas. Its symbolic significance, according to diviners, is that "it always sees you first before you see it": personal communication, M. Hirst, 30 September 1980. For use as a seer W. Gqoba, "Doctors", Christian Express XV (183): p. 141, September 1885; Hewat (1906) pp. 41-2; Kropf (1915) p. 122.
144. Fleming (1853) p. 114; Kropf (1915) pp. 149-50; R.H.W. Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross. His Ancestry and Some Writings (Lovedale, 1948) p. 82.
145. Hewat (1906) pp. 41-2; Shepherd (1948) pp. 83-4; Warner in Maclean (1858) p. 83. cf. the Sotho seer, senohe: Ashton (1952) p. 283.
146. Gebo aogu - Khoi seer: Hahn (1881) p. 24.
147. Zaze Soga in Bokwe 1914) p. 53.
148. For a discussion of the impact of the Mfecane on the Xhosa see Peires (1981) pp. 86-9. Moyer maintaines that the Nguni refugees from the conflicts in the north started filtering into the Transkei around 1815: (1976) p. 74.
149. Alberti records meeting two men at Ngqika's Great Place in the early 1800s whom he belived to have come from Delagao Bay: (1807, trans. 1968) pp. 7-12. See also Wilson in Wilson and Thompson I (1969) pp. 114-5.
150. Brownlee, MS 158c, Grey Collection, S.A.L., p.I. Extract from the diary of C.L. Stretch, copied by G.M. Theal, Accession 378c (n.d.), Cape Archives. For information on Vanderlingen see de Kock (1968) pp. 811-2.
151. T. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (London, 1835) p. 279.
152. Vanderkemp to Governor, 31 December 1806, No. 76 Letter Book, Cape Archives.
153. Letter from Read to Campbell, 8 January 1816, Missionary Chronicle: p. 3, May 1816.
154. The following account is taken from Read's report of his visit to Caffraria, 31 May 1816: Transactions IV (1813-18): pp. 278-93. Read uses the name Makanna, but Nxele is retained to avoid confusion.
155. Peires (1979) p. 57.
156. Dugmore in Maclean (1858) p. 165; Theal (1882) p. 200.
157. Read, Transactions II (1804), p. 243.
158. Read describes Nxele as "a stout handsome man", while Stretch notes that he had an imposing appearance, being full six and a half feet in height: A 378c, Cape Archives.
159. Döhne (1844) p. 62; Stretch Diary. For further information on diviners see Hewat (1906) ch. 3; W.K. Kaye, "Kafir Doctors", 172c (n.d.), Grey Collection; Soga (c1931) ch. 8.
160. Döhne (1844) p. 61; Native Laws and Customs Commission, 1883, p. 90. For further information on a national priest see Warner in Maclean (1858) pp. 84-6.
161. Kaye, 172c, pp. 87-9; W.K. Ntsikana in Rubusana (1906) p. 191.
162. D.F.C. Moodie, The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulus, etc. in Southern Africa I (London, 1888) p. 195. Brownlee records that in one instance Nxele was baulked by a poor man: 158c, Grey Collection, p. 3.
163. Stretch Diary.
164. W.W. Gqoba in Bennie (1935) p. 196.
165. Peires (1981) p. 70.

166. J.B. Peires, "Causes and Development of the Frontier War of 1818-9" (B.A. Honours dissertation, U.C.T., 1971) pp. 58 et seq. See also Stretch Diary; Wauchope (1908) p. 34.
167. I am indebted to Peires for his scholarly discussion of the events which are summarized in this section: (1971) pp. 67 et seq. and (1981) p. 63.
168. See Peires (1981) pp. 19-22, for a discussion on segmentation.
169. Ibid., pp. 33-4.
170. Soga (c1931) p. 383.
171. J.S. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire. British Policy on the South African Frontier 1834-1854 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963) pp. 50-1.
172. Brownlee (1944) pp. 23-4. See also Raum and de Jager (1972) p. 211.
173. See for example Moorcroft (1967) p. 54; G. Setiloane, "How the traditional world-view persists in the Christianity of the Sotho-Tswana" in Fasholé - Luke et al (1978) p. 410.
174. S.E.K. Mqhayi quoted and translated in Dwane (1979) p. 77.
175. B. Wilson (1973) pp. 70, 105.
176. The account of Nxele's teaching is taken from Kropf (1915) p. 499, and Wauchope (1908) p. 34. See also Kaye, MS 172c, Grey Collection, p. 90.
177. Kropf (1915) p. 219.
178. Döhne (1844) p. 62. This in in contrast to the lightning doctor whose services are used to keep away lightning and purify those who have been struck: Soga (c1931) pp. 213-6.
179. Döhne (1844) pp. 54-8.
180. Ibid., p. 61. See also "Gomtu Ongu Tsikana", MS 172c, Grey Collection, p. 97; W.K. Ntsikana in Rubusana (1906) p. 190.
181. Kropf (1915) p. 2; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 4. Traditionally the Xhosa had numerous customs relating to the crossing of rivers. It was customary to praise the spirits of the river and throw a stone into the water to ensure a safe crossing. See for example Callaway (1868) p. 90 and n. 20.
182. Döhne (1875) p. 249; Kropf (1915) p. 298.
183. W.K. Ntsikana in Rubusana (1906) p. 191 (translated by G. Mputa). The stab wound probably refers to the occasion when he divined the whereabouts of a stolen horse and was wounded by an assegai while trying to recover it from the thief: Döhne (1844) p. 63.
184. Schapera (1930/1965) pp. 177-95, 366-89, 395-9.
185. Döhne (1844) pp. 61-2.
186. M. Douglas, Natural Symbols (London, 1970).
187. Wauchope (1908) p. 34.
188. Ibid. pp. 34-5. Wauchope recalls that his own grandfather and his sons "leaped and danced" at Gompo before his father was born: p. 37.
189. Cove Rock was used from earliest times as a landmark by voyagers to India. It was also known as the Coffin: Scott (1968). See also A. Elliott, The Magic World of the Xhosa (London, 1970) pp. 98-100.
190. Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1972) p. 103.
191. This account is taken from Brownlee, 158c, pp. 6-8, and Kaye, 172c, Grey Collection, p. 89; Kropf (1915) p. 500; Report by Shaw, 1828, in Hammond-Tooke (1972) p. 103.
192. Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1972) p. 103; Theal (1908) p. 270.
193. Chief Bhungane died c 1810. For further information see Bryant

(1929) pp. 87, 148-9. See also "A Story of Native Wars by an Aged Fingo", Cape Monthly Magazine n.s. 14: p. 249, 1877.

194. Statement of Gwija, "a Fengo living at the Fengo Location at Graham's Town, who is between seventy and eighty years of age", in a letter from G. Cyrus, Superintendent to R. Graham, Civil Commissioner Albany, 10 January 1857, p. 157-8, Grey Collection.

195. For further information from the oral tradition see "Aged Fingo" (1877) pp. 248-52; N.J. van Warmelo (ed.) Ethnological Publications VII. History of Matiwane and the Amagwane Tribe (Pretoria, 1938).

PART II: THE PROPHET NTSIKANA : A CATALYST AND FOCUS OF CHANGE

3. THE BEGINNINGS OF NTSIKANA'S MINISTRY

The story of Ntsikana is taken from the oral tradition which was written down at different periods during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by four generations of his disciples including his own son, two grandsons and a great-grandson. In addition, information has been drawn from the writings of missionaries who were personally acquainted with Ntsikana's disciples and their descendants. This source material will be critically analysed in Part III when we follow the development of the Ntsikana tradition up to the present day. The purpose of Part II is to set down all that is known about Ntsikana : his life, his teaching, his prophecies and his hymns. This account will be placed within its historical context in order to determine the influences at work during his time, and to compare his contribution with that of Nxele. Although these two men were both called prophets their responses to Christianity were quite different and they were about as wide apart as it is possible to be in the prophetic tradition.

3.1 NTSIKANA'S BACKGROUND AND UPBRINGING

Ntsikana (1) was the son of Gaba (Gabha) of the Cira (Cirha) clan. At one time this was the clan from which the royal house of the Xhosa came; but Cira was supplanted by his younger brother Tshawe, probably in the early seventeenth century, and the Tshawe has been the royal clan ever since. (2) Gaba was the son of Thana, of Mhlandla, of Ntswentswe, of Qanqolo. (3) He was a councillor of Ngqika but at the time of Ntsikana's birth was living among the Ndlambe. (4)

A councillor could be either a friend, possibly an age-mate, of the chief, or a man influential in his own right, and this was usually an hereditary position. He would represent his own area as well as being adviser of the chief. The court of councillors met daily at the Great Place of the chief, in the inkundla, the open place before a cattle fold, in the shade of a tree. Although the councillors served mainly in an advisory capacity, the chief was expected to consult them on all important matters and take their advice. Their executive duties consisted of carrying out the chief's orders, collecting his tribute, calling up the able-bodied men for war, and leading the

warriors into battle under the chief's command. The chief's power was limited, however, by the fact that his councillors could secede with their followers and join another ruler, or support a minor brother in rising up against him, should he seriously displease them. (5) So it was that Gaba left Ngqika to join Ndlambe and live at Nyembezana.

Gaba was known as a man "of a fiery nature" who had earned his followers' respect by killing a lion single-handed. The lion had devoured one of his heifers and he gave chase with his men. But when the lion broke cover, the men ran for their lives leaving Gaba alone. The lion made straight for him and he stabbed it to death through the breast. (6)

Ntsikana's mother, Nonabe, was the Right Hand (junior) Wife of Gaba. Her father, Bindi, was reputed to have kept a certain fabulous bird for the purposes of witchcraft. Nonabe in turn was "smelled-out" as a witch, being accused of using the bird of thunder (impundulu) for her evil doing. (7) The charge was brought by Noyiki, the Great (senior) Wife of Gaba, who was said to be jealous of her husband's preference for Nonabe. Noyiki used the illness of another member of the family to ensure that a diviner confirmed the charge. (8) The tension between co-wives has always been one of the most common causes for accusations of witchcraft. (9) Nonabe fled to Qawukeni (Qaukeni, Xukwane), which was under the rule of her father in Ngqika's territory in the Debe plains. (10) She was already heavy with child and Ntsikana was born a few months later. This was probably around 1780.

Ntsikana was brought up among his mother's kinsmen until he was about five or six years old. His father then sent for him, having secured his rights by paying a beast for the boy's maintenance from infancy. (11) Gaba's Great Wife had only one child, a daughter, and so Ntsikana was adopted by Noyiki as her eldest son, and Gaba's heir.

Ntsikana had a traditional upbringing and education. (12) In pre-colonial Xhosa society there was a strict division of labour with the men being responsible for caring for the animals while the women cultivated the land. As a small boy Ntsikana tended the goats and herded the sheep. Later on he looked after the cattle. The livestock were taken to the veld each day to graze. Out in the bush the boys learnt the ways of the wild and practised hunting birds and animals. They would also play various children's games and test their skill and strength with stick fights. Their only clothing was a sheep or calf skin thrown round their shoulders in cold weather. Otherwise they went

naked.

As a child Ntsikana was taught the songs, folklore and legends of his people by his mother and the older women as they sat by their fire at night. The men were divided from the women in recreation as in labour. When Ntsikana joined his father he would listen to the older men recount the history and tradition of the Xhosa as they sat round their fire. Like other children Ntsikana belonged to a peer group organization and took part in their gatherings and dances. The umshotsho youth gatherings were largely responsible for the socialization of children and adolescents in acceptable ways of behaving. Respect for elders was a cardinal value inculcated from infancy and the young were expected to obey any older person. In this way they were taught the importance of responsibility to others and the obligations expected of them as an extended family.

The peer group was the context in which Ntsikana built up his repertoire of songs besides learning the songs of his elders. Singing was always accompanied by dancing but the beer drinking and dancing at traditional rituals were taboo to young people. They had no music as such but rhythmic movement was heightened by clapping, stamping of feet and the beating of a drum. The drum was made by stretching a dried oxhide over a frame of sticks. Leg rattles made from dried seed pods were used too.

Ntsikana first lived with his father at iXesi (literally Keiskamma River but now called Middledrift). Soon afterwards he moved to Zinqayi (now known as Evergreen, 8 kilometres west of Alice). At that time place names generally referred to rivers. Before he was circumcized, Ntsikana used to visit the Great Place like all the other herdboys of the chief, and tend his cattle. (13) It was here that he was instructed in the arts of war, learning how to use his knob-kerrie and throw his assegai. He was circumcized according to custom with the age-mates of one of the chief's sons. (14) This was in the year of the great drought of 1800, when Nontsangani was accused of "scaring off the rain" through witchcraft, and people were driven to eating the roots of plants to stave off starvation. (15) It was also the year of Vanderkemp's ministry to the Xhosa.

The Xhosa circumcision rites have been well documented. (16) Suffice it to say that initiation was seen as "the making of a man". The coming-out ceremony was marked by the washing off of white ochre which the abakwetha had worn in the circumcision lodge. The festivities included the giving of gifts of cattle, spears and a cloak of animal skins to the young men. Soon

afterwards Ntsikana took two wives, cattle being given as lobola or dowry to the families of his brides. His Great Wife was Nontsonta, daughter of Ntondo of the Qocwa clan. His Right Hand Wife was Nomanto (Xobo), daughter of Nqwede of the Jwara (Jwarha) clan. (17)

About this time Ntsikana's father died and he inherited the role of councillor, being entitled to wear a leopard-skin robe. (18) His uncle, Runqu, was one of Ngqika's principal councillors during this period. (19) However, Ntsikana's grandson maintains that he went to live among the Ndlambe at eMnyameni, a valley lying under the Hogsback, for two years before going west to settle at Mankazana for four years, where he must have been among the Ngqika. This would have coincided with the Ndlambe's stay in the Zuurveld. What is certain is that he had made a major move to the south-west and was living once more among the Ndlambe at Gqorha, a tributary of the Great Fish River in the district of Fort Peddie, when he had his conversion experience. (20)

Ntsikana was described as being fearless like his father. Someone who met him only once at his kraal recalled that it was like a man meeting a lion : "His stature was of ordinary height, but he had very strong looking muscles. His head was rather big and round; with an open face and forehead; his eyes large, yet black, sharp, and piercing, under the penetrating gaze of which one could not help feeling an uncomfortable sensation of awe". (21)

He was renowned as a brilliant orator, a great dancer and a very sweet singer of Xhosa songs. Both in speaking and in singing he had a deep, but clear, bass voice. (22) These were all desired attributes of a Xhosa man. Before his conversion he was also known to be short-tempered and to ill-treat his wives. The cause of this was the red ochre which he liked to smear thickly on his body. When his wives did not prepare sufficient for his needs he would hit them, his stick "playing continually upon their backs". (23)

Ntsikana had two sons and three daughters. Kobe was the eldest, the son of Ntondo, his Great Wife. Dukwana was the son of Nomanto, his Right Hand Wife. He had two sisters, Ntobela and Lenge. It is not known which wife was the mother of the third girl, Dwala. (24)

3.2 CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

3.2.1 "This Thing which has entered me"

At Gqorha Ntsikana became a follower of Nxele and sent him a present of an ox. No sooner had he done this than his conversion changed his life. He hardly seems to have been a likely subject for the revelation of God. Yet the divine call often comes in the crises of life, (25) and it seems that Nxele's prophecies precipitated the necessary crisis.

There is a popularly held belief among Xhosa Christians that Ntsikana received his insights through divine revelation independent of missionary influence. Oral tradition, however, relates that he had heard Vanderkemp preach when he was a boy of the cattle-herding age. Later he is said to have listened to Read during a preaching tour. (26) Certainly he was living in the right places at the right times to make some sort of personal contact a feasible proposition. Moreover, the specific content of his early teaching suggests contact with the missionaries.

It was the custom of Xhosa men of rank to go to their cattle byres first thing in the morning to inspect their animals. They would then while away the hours sitting in the lee of the enclosure discussing the respective merits of their various beasts. Ntsikana's favourite ox was a large, ugly, dun-coloured animal with white flecks and long curving horns, called Hulushe. (27) He would praise it saying.

> Hulushe nggezegamtweni,
> Lunga lama Pakati.
> (Hulushe, thou store of milk sacks,
> Thou dappled one of the Councillors) (28)

Tradition relates that on the morning in question, Ntsikana went to his cattle kraal at daybreak as usual. As he leant leisurely against the gate poles, warming himself in the sun's first rays, an exceptionally bright ray of light smote him as well as the side-of-Hulushe. (29) He later referred to this numinous vision as "the rainbow", presumably because it reflected the colours of a rainbow. A young boy was busy near by attending the calves. Some say it was his eldest son Kobe. Ntsikana asked him, "Do you see what I see?" The boy ansered "No." Three times he questioned him and each time the boy replied "No." Ntsikana, recovering from his trance, lifted himself up from the ground on which he had in the meantime stretched himself, and said to the puzzled boy, "You are right; the sight was not one to be seen by your eyes." With that he went straightway to the hut of his Great Wife and sat down

without saying a word. One tradition maintains that as he sat by the fire, three flames flared up and successively dwindled away.

On that day a great wedding dance, umdudo, was to be held at the neighbouring homestead of Chief Hlahla, a relative of Ngqika's. Ntsikana's people were busy with preparations and could not absent themselves without good reason. A little later Ntsikana came out of the hut and shouted the order "the morning is too far spent; get ready, and let us start!" They were soon on their way, walking in single file with the men in front carrying nought but a stick (umngayi - a long stick without a knob), a mantle and a goatskin bag. The women followed on behind, balancing milk-sacks of amasi (sour milk) on their heads. Ntsikana was among the last to leave, withdrawn and speaking little.

It was a fine summer's day, the sky clear and cloudless. They arrived late and the dancing was already under way. The women were singing and clapping their hands while some beat hides with their sticks. (30) The men were drawn up in an irregular row, their sticks raised in the air as they went through the dance movements. They would leap and twist as they tried to outdo one another in displays of strength and agility, their almost naked bodies glistening with sweat in the hot sun. (31) They too joined in the singing with their deep voices. Their women urged them on with praise saying "Look at my man! He mimics an elephant!" "Look at mine! He goes slyly like a lion!" "Look at mine! He can fly like an eagle!" One of Ntsikana's admirers noticed that he was not inclined to dance that day and shouted out his praise : "Wesuka uNokonongo, imaz' egush' ibele' (There goes Nokonongo [nickname], cow that conceals her udder, i.e. keeps back her milk, hinting at great reserve of power).

Ntsikana was finally drawn into the dance. But no sooner had he made a few leaps than a violent wind arose. Some say that there was the sound of thunder too. The dancers were forced to stop and Ntsikana returned to his place. Strangely enough the wind subsided as quickly as it had started. The dance was resumed but Ntsikana made no move to join in. He was overcome by lassitude. Tradition claims that it was now that the Holy Spirit entered him. In vain did his admirers sing his praises, "Wherefore do you not stir today, Nokonongo, cow of the amaCira, where do you conceal your milk? How long do you mean to restrain yourself?"

At length Ntsikana made an effort to overcome his listlessness and rejoin the dance. Once more the storm raged. As soon as he sat down, the storm again abated.

When this happened a third time the people were astonished and began to murmur among themselves, questioning whether he had been bewitched. He is said to have suddenly recalled the strange experience of the morning. Without a word of explanation he now ordered his people to make ready to return home. They were greatly surprised, not to say dismayed, at having to leave the festivities early, but obeyed his orders.

This was not the end of Ntsikana's curious behaviour. On the way home they had to cross the Gqorha River. Here Ntsikana stopped, threw off his cloak and plunged into the water. His followers were amazed to see him wash off the red ochre from his body. (32) He later told them, "My children, something has commanded me to wash off the red ochre, therefore do you also wash it off."

Next day Ntsikana continued to act strangely. (33) He remained all day at the gate of the cattle kraal and was heard to hum an unfamiliar chant, which he repeated over and over again: "Ele le le le le home, hom, homna" (he later added words to the music of this chant and it became known as the Poll-headed or Round hymn). Further, he told his people, "uNxele ubukuqekile, ubalahlekisela-nina abantu?" (Nxele has turned upside down, why does he mislead the people?) Those who lived in his homestead sat outside the byre and watched him in astonishment. They whispered one to another "Our father is going mad!" When Ntsikana observed this he spoke to them saying, "Le nto indingeneyo, ithi ma kuthandazwe ma kuguqe yonke into" (This thing which has entered me, it says "Let there be prayer! Let everything bow the knee!") He continued, "No one understands it in this country as yet, except perhaps Ngcongolo" (ngcongolo means reed and referred to James Read). (34) He then began his chant again and went on singing throughout the day. This was said to be Ntsikana's first sermon. Many visitors came from the neighbouring homesteads to see him. They in turn told others the strange news and all waited anxiously to see what was going to happen next.

Ntsikana's first action was to send two young men to fetch the dun-coloured ox he had offered to Nxele. When his messengers complained that they did not know the man, Ntsikana told them that he would be the first person they would meet on the way. They must deliver their message to Nxele without fear, giving him to understand that he was deceiving the people with his false prophecies. The messengers followed their instructions and were astonished to find that everything happened exactly as Ntsikana had promised, even to Nxele handing over the ox without

protest. (35)

Ntsikana's next move was to part with his Right Hand Wife, Nomanto. He called his two wives to him and said, "It does not agree with the thing that has entered me that I have two wives." He gave Nomanto a share of his property, telling her that she was free to remarry, and they parted on friendly terms. (36)

3.2.2 Dating the Conversion Experience

The dating of Ntsikana's conversion is a contentious issue. One school of thought argues that it was the direct result of Williams's ministry and must therefore date from 1816 at the earliest, (37) while the other school contends that it took place before Williams's coming, in 1815. (38) The evidence seems to support the earlier date.

The story of Ntsikana, as given to the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries at Chumie in the early 1840s by his first disciples, tells how after his conversion he began to worship God. (39) He is said to have had a great desire to see Nyengana (Vanderkemp); but the missionary had long since left the country and he did not know where to find him. So he tried to serve God alone; but "he was like a buck thirsting for water, his soul was thirsting for the water of life".

Some time later Ntsikana learnt of the visit of Read and Williams on their exploratory tour of Xhosaland. He must surely have heard Read preach when he was itinerating previously, given Ntsikana's reference to him in his first teaching on prayer. At any rate Ntsikana went to meet the missionaries at eDikeni, the place where Lovedale was later built. He told them everything that was in his heart; and they comforted him, exhorted him and taught him about the word of God. He wanted to leave everything and return with the missionaries to Bethelsdorp so that he might receive further instruction. But his chiefs refused to give him permission to go, and in any case government regulations would have made this impossible. The missionaries comforted Ntsikana, saying that Williams was going to settle shortly among the Ngqika. He was reconciled to remaining behind in the expectation of a missionary coming to Sihota (a place on the Kat River near Fort Beaufort).

After leaving the missionaries Ntsikana slept at the place of Botomane (Botoman). There he collected the people together and preached to them the word of God. Before then the people had thought him mad. Now they began to understand because he spoke the same words as the missionaries. Moreover, Read and Williams had told them,

"This man is not mad. He speaks the truth. Listen to his words."

In his record of the trip Read makes no mention of Ntsikana by name. But he does recall meeting three Xhosa at Ngqika's Great Place who had come "two days journey after us", and relates the spiritual experience of the one who seems in all likelihood to have been Ntsikana.

> One of them seemed sickly, but said his sickness was in his heart; that this had begun a year ago, when, at a certain time his sins were revealed to him; that he did not know what it was, and tried to drive away the convictions; went to a feast, and when standing up to dance, a fire was presented before him; that he fell, and had been almost dead; that a glorious Person had been presented to him, so glittering, that his eyes were dim at beholding him; that it was told him that this Person could help him. He said that the Caffres could not understand him, but supposed him to be bewitched; that he felt now that we were the people he had been looking for. (40)

In order to analyse Ntsikana's conversion and early teaching it is necessary to try to establish the extent of missionary influence to which he had been exposed previously. The key issue is whether his conversion was the result of Williams's proselytizing or not. Certainly the main points of Read's account tally with the Ntsikana tradition and would date the vision as having taken place about April 1815, a year before he first met Williams. But even if this man was not Ntsikana there is evidence to show that such a man could have had a similar conversion experience at that time and in that place.

Supporting evidence comes from the German missionary, Döhne, who also obtained his information from Ntsikana's disciples in the early 1840s. (41) He records that Ntsikana's good influence over Ngqika made it possible for Williams to be accepted in a friendly manner. If Williams himself had made such a convert he would surely have mentioned the fact; but there is no word and he died believing that his mission was a failure.

vdk

3.3 ANALYSIS OF NTSIKANA'S CONVERSION

3.3.1 A Shift in Two Stages

Peires denies that Ntsikana came under any missionary influence whatsoever prior to his conversion. His argument is based on the fact that there is nothing Christian in Ntsikana's religious visitation and subsequent behaviour. Ntsikana's mystical vision and the urge to rid himself of impurity by washing off the red ochre are all said to be "completely comprehensible in Xhosa religious terms". (42) Ntsikana is therefore supposed to have made his own interpretation of his experience which was originally traditional, and only became more Christian as he learnt something of Christianity, directly or indirectly, from Joseph Williams. This was in marked contrast to Nxele whose original interpretation was far more Christian because of his direct contact with mission teaching. This point of view challenges the "white apologist" position which is said to look for Vanderkemp's influence on Ntsikana, with the counter argument that Vanderkemp's influence was not necessary because Ntsikana only moved to Christianity later. (43)

Whilst not disagreeing with Peires on the facts relating to Ntsikana's conversion experience, I disagree with his interpretation. Apart from the references in the oral tradition which associate Ntsikana with Vanderkemp, and which may well be open to bias, I shall be showing that the mark of Ntsikana's genius was to bring about change by giving new meanings to old forms and images; and that there are striking parallels between some of the content of his early teaching and Vanderkemp's preaching. Read could also have had an influence early on. Nxele's early teaching can not be discounted either.

If, as I believe, Ntsikana's conversion took place in 1815, then the question is to what extent he made the shift from traditional religion to Christianity at that stage. His new insights provided continuing links which made traditional religion more compatible with Christianity so making it possible for Christian writers to read in more new content than was actually there. The oral tradition was preserved by Ntsikana's disciples and as some of the first converts at Gwali mission they would have been certain to give the story of his calling as Christian an interpretation as they could. Furthermore, his black biographers were Christians of at least the second generation, and being already distinct from the "red clay" they would have wanted to think of their forebear very much in the terms in which they found themselves at the time of

writing. It is my contention, therefore, that Ntsikana did not move directly from traditional religion to Christianity as these biographers would have us believe, but rather that he made the shift over two clearly defined stages.

The first stage followed his conversion. It was characterized by his departure from traditional belief and custom at a number of significant points and his adoption of new beliefs and practices which became carriers of change, so enabling Christianity to become rooted in the indigenous culture. It incorporated the revelation of a "God" rather than the ancestors without its being clear how much this was "God" as understood in the tradition and how much the concept at this stage owed to Christianity. The second stage followed on from the establishment of Williams's mission. During the ensuing two years Ntsikana regularly visited the station to receive religious instruction and take part in the worship, so gaining a deeper insight into the Christian tradition. His more biblical teaching clearly dates from this period.

Ntsikana's understanding of the "thing" (lento) which had entered into him is a good example of the way in which he moved to Christianity in two stages. Tradition relates that at first he did not realize or understand what this "thing" within him was, but that later on he saw the light when it said he must speak. (44) Initially this voice within him might well have been understood as possession by an ancestor or some other spirit, but the fact that he was immediately inspired to wash off the red ochre, direct his people to pray, confront Nxele and put away one wife, indicates a new orientation in his life with at least some association with missionary teaching. His command to pray is of particular significance in this context.

In the Xhosa tradition prayer takes the form of brief petitions or communications to the ancestors and tends to be of a conversational nature. (45) Kropf notes that the verb stem -ngula is used for calling on the ancestors and for uttering incantations for help, as is done by traditional doctors for their patients. (46) The ngula invocation takes place at the indini or ritual killing directed to the ancestors. This is regarded as the only killing where there is true prayer. (47) The invocation involves the reciting of the clan names of the person for whom the idini is being made, interspersed with praises of the ancestors. This prayer is an integral part of a corporate act and cannot be divorced from its ritual context.

Ntsikana used the verb stem thandaza which is translated as to pray in general, but originally meant to

pray for mercy or life. (48) The other word he used was ukuguqa, which means to stoop, bend on or upon; to bend the knee, to kneel down. According to Kropf, ukuguqa was an essential part of the marriage ceremony. (49) But although the words Ntsikana used related to Xhosa belief and practice, he made a radical break with tradition by instituting twice daily services in which he directed his people to kneel in prayer like the missionaries, and to speak to "God" rather than to the ancestors, in a regular act of worship and in an entirely new ritual context. Furthermore, he claimed authority for his prayers, preaching, hymns and prophecies from this "thing" within him, the "thing" coming to represent direct revelation from "God". (50) This development in understanding is well illustrated in the testimony of Makapela Balfour, son of Noyi, who remembers attending Ntsikana's services as a boy. He recalls Ntsikana telling them frequently : "This thing called the voice of God (Izwi lika Thixo) was not for the naughty ones." (51)

There is evidence here of a "logos" Christology. Ntsikana's identification of "the thing" speaking within him with "the word of God" is comparable with the way in which the early church made the cross-cultural shift from Judaism to Hellenism.

3.3.2 Carriers of Change

Other ways in which Ntsikana used elements of the old tradition to give authority to the new can be deduced by examining his conversion experience step by step. Significantly, the first such carrier of change relates to the sacred place of the ancestors where the ritual slaughtering is carried out. The gateway has special associations with the ancestors because it is here that the homestead head is buried. At the start of a lineage feast the ritual elder will stand at the gate to call on the ancestors, brandishing his ritual spear or stick in his right hand as he talks, and facing towards the interior of the enclosure. In times of trouble the homestead head may go to the gate of the cattle byre at dawn to ask the ancestors to show him where he or his people have gone wrong, and to plead for mercy for those suffering misfortune. The ancestors are then expected to make their wishes known in a dream or in some other way. Dwane maintains that the kraal gate is "the place where this world and the next converge". (52)

The fact that Ntsikana's vision took place at the gate

occasions till the day of his death. (60)

It must be remembered that oxen were taught to obey signals and would return home in answer to a certain call or whistle, so that there could have been a perfectly logical explanation of Hulushe's return. (61) But the ox's uncanny behaviour was a typical manifestation of the way in which the ancestors made their wishes known. In his book, Ityala lamawele, Mqhayi tells the story of a beast that behaved in a similar way and was slaughtered because this was thought to be the ancestors' desire. (62) In times past the Xhosa are even said to have believed that cattle could speak. The last such beast was supposed to belong to Chief Mhala and was slaughtered during the Cattle Killing. (63) Xhosa thinking, therefore, would have regarded Hulushe's behaviour as evidence of a relationship with the spirit-world which would have invested Ntsikana's visions with supernatural authority. But whereas he continued to make use of the old idea of the power being in the ox, the shift towards the new was evident in his association of the ox with the revelation of "God" instead of with the ancestors. (64)

As the head of the family Ntsikana would have served as ritual leader for his homestead and would have already commanded considerable religious authority as the link between his people and their ancestors. This is a mediatory role and inherited. (65) In contrast, the role of diviner is one of mediumship and his authority is acquired through a special calling. This is fully documented in the literature. (66) Of significance is that the diviner's call is characterized by dreams and visions, and that Ntsikana's vision was typical of such a manifestation. (67) The meaning of a rainbow in Xhosa thought-patterns is not known; (68) but the symbolic idea of a rainbow being associated with divine revelation, as is found in some other societies, may well apply to the Xhosa. (69)

A person who becomes "sick ukuthwasa" suffers from an illness which is thought to have been sent by the ancestors, indicating their calling. The trance-like or ecstatic stage which followed Ntsikana's vision, (70) together with his physical weakness at the dance, his experience of supernatural sights and sounds, the humming of certain tunes, and ecstatic utterances, were all characteristic signs of the ancestors' activities in a person.

The number three occurs repeatedly in descriptions of Ntsikana's spiritual experience: the questioning of the boy

three times in the cattle byre, the flames that flared up three times in the fire, and the gale that blew up three times at the dance. Three is a mystical number common in many different cultures of the world. It is one of the sacred numbers of the Jews and this connotation continued into Christianity. (71) Among the Xhosa the number had similar symbolic associations. If something happened three times then the incident acquired an aura of mystery and significance which would need further investigation. In addition, the number had magical properties. For example, there was a custom of making two or three knots in a kaross or blanket in order to ensure a prosperous journey: "the numbers two and three constituting the charm of the operation". (72)

There is only one reference in the tradition to the flames that flared up in the fire after Ntsikana's vision. Of consequence, however, is the fact that the hearth in a hut corresponds with the cattle byre in being the sacred place of the ancestors, and a mystical experience there would have had the same connotations. (73)

Ntsikana's washing off of the red ochre from his body could have been interpreted as the purification and initiation rites of a novice diviner, in order to achieve ritual cleanliness. (74) In Xhosa thought-patterns water may be associated with "purification, redemption, spiritual rebirth, hope, new life or rejuvenation". (75) Purification by washing in running water, i.e. living water, is a rite of passage symbolizing death to one state of life and resurrection to another state of living. Another example of ritual washing which is part of the process of remaking man, is the "coming-out ceremony" of the initiates when they wash in the river after leaving the seclusion of the circumcision lodge. (76) Death brings contamination and in the old days men, women and children would also wash themselves in the river after a burial ceremony to rid themselves of impurity. (77) The novice diviners wash themselves two or three times a day in running water as well as at the end of their initiation period. This ritual cleansing may also be a means of establishing contact with the above. (78) Some diviners are believed to be initiated by "the people of the river", being called into a deep pool or river for days on end to commune with their tutelary spirits. (79)

Ntsikana's family background would have favoured a claim to traditional mediumship for there is the idea that certain mystical qualities, such as the diviner's power, may be inherited. (80) Some go so far as to say that he was a diviner before his conversion. (81) But there is no

evidence that he underwent initiation, nor that he practised as any sort of traditional doctor, receiving gifts of cattle. Moreover, tradition relates that after his conversion people thought that he was either mad or bewitched, showing that certain aspects of his behaviour did not conform to expectations.

What the evidence does indicate is that Ntsikana was taken hold of in the same sort of way that a diviner would have been taken hold of; and because his followers were able to identify his role as "the servant of God" with the role of a diviner, "the servant of the ancestors", they were able to accept the authority of his new source of divine inspiration and thus his innovations in belief and practice. That Ntsikana's linking of the old thought-patterns to the new facilitated the move from the tradition to Christianity, is well illustrated by the testimony of Makapela Balfour. He speaks from first-hand experience when he says,

> It was clear to his disciples that he [Ntsikana] represented them before God. For the Xhosa people, who were used to diviners, it was easy to conceive of such a thing. Ntsikana had it in him to make his disciples feel the greatness and nearness of God. (82)

There is evidence here of a shift from monism to monotheism that will be discussed fully below.

Another tradition relates that when Ntsikana prophesied, many people thought that he was associated with "the river people" because the ancestors of the Gaba clan are believed to live in the river and not in the cattle kraal like other ancestor spirits. (83) Again the linking with the old gave authority to the new; and his washing off of the red ochre was a striking example of his shift in understanding. Although Ntsikana retained the traditional interpretation of the rite as a symbolic death and re-birth, he gave it a radical new meaning. He never again wore red ochre showing that for him it no longer symbolized a progression from one state to another in the old way of life. Instead, it came to represent death to the whole of the old way of life and an initiation into the new of a once-achieved purification. There is a possible link here with Vanderkemp as Ntsikana may well have witnessed the baptism by immersion of Sarah and her daughters in the Keiskamma River, or at least heard about it, for we know that Vanderkemp's every action was reported to Ngqika and discussed by his people. We know too that Vanderkemp was

vociferous in his condemnation of the use of red ochre. At any rate, the washing off of red ochre has been used by the Xhosa since the time of Ntsikana to symbolize their conversion to Christianity.

Significantly, Ntsikana did not take a new name. It became the custom in the mission church to give converts a Christian or "school" name at their baptism, and this practice was followed by many of Ntsikana's disciples when they were formally received into the church. Even in the traditional Xhosa context a change of status was often signified by a change of name. (84) In the primitive Christianity of Ntsikana, this may have been one of the ways of showing that although the new life required radical changes, links with the old should be maintained where this represented no conflict with the new.

Tradition relates that later on, when Williams wanted to baptize Ntsikana, he said "he had already been baptized in his own way". (85) Tradition goes on to say that although he was not baptized with water by a missionary, the word of God was put into his heart by the power of the Holy Spirit. (86) This is said to have taken place at the wedding dance, when "the Lord spoke to Ntsikana in the raging wind". The vision on the ox is also believed to have been the illumination of the Holy Ghost. (87) This explanation is clearly open to the reading in of Christian content during the transmission of the tradition, fire and wind being the symbols of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. At the same time, the basic idea could have stemmed from traditional thought as violent wind was believed to be a manifestation of the power of the supreme being. The question is whether Ntsikana ever interpreted his infilling of power as the working of uMoya, the Holy Spirit, within him.

Sundkler has shown that in the African Independent Churches, uMoya is the fundamental concept in Zionist ideology. (88) Zionists understand uMoya both in general terms, of piety and good Christian behaviour, and in a specific sense, as the sum of supernatural gifts. The Spirit is often thought to be given in a dream or vision, and Ntsikana's experience would obviously qualify. In addition, Sundkler's informants emphasized that uMoya was often most acutely felt in the initial spiritual experience which motivated them to join the Zionists. After reaching a climax it then faded away. Speaking with tongues, glossolalia, is the gift they covet most. (89) Ntsikana's ecstatic utterances and chanting of "Ele le le homna" the day after his conversion seem very like the peculiar speech and havering or humming sound made by those who have the

gift of tongues. But this was not necessarily Christian as many African people have their own spirit languages. The Zulu, for example, have various forms of tongues which are of ancient origin. (90) What is clear though is that although Ntsikana only refers to "this thing" which had entered into him, and the connection with uMoya seems only to have been made later by his disciples under missionary influence, he was certainly conscious of the power of "God" working within him, and he acted accordingly.

In interpreting Christianity to an African people whose whole tradition is more of activity and feeling than concept, the bridge is formed by drawing on the ritual rather than on previous myth concepts, although these would also be included. One of the marks of Ntsikana's religious creativity was his ability to move from a behaviour pattern to a belief pattern, to express his new beliefs in a language of faith as well as in ritual. But the symbolism and imagery from which he drew his authority were still rooted in the past. Indeed one can see why Peires was misled in his opinion since Ntsikana's carriers of change were important precisely because they were "all completely comprehensible in Xhosa religious terms", so providing continutiy with the old tradition. This is exemplified in Ntsikana's representation of his renewal experience.

Oral tradition relates that Ntsikana described the day of his conversion as "the day I was renewed", using the Xhosa word ndasungulwa to represent his experience of renewal. (91) Kropf confirms that he used this word "of himself, when he commenced his special mission to the Kafirs". According to Kropf, the root word ukusungula means "to commence an operation or enterprise", and it was applied especially to the breaking of ground at the commencement of agricultural operations in the springtime. (92) Moreover, the start of the cultivation season signalled the beginning of the Xhosa year. (93) The earth as the source of new life was a familiar image to the Xhosa and so Ntsikana is making wide use of symbolism here to convey his experience of being made spiritually new - matching new concepts with such of the old as were common to their everyday experience.

Ntsikana gave symbolic expression to his concept of new life by introducing a number of innovations. Washing off the red ochre was one ; parting from his Right Hand wife another. Yet others are discussed in relation to his teaching and practice ; but first it is necessary to try to determine what triggered off his conversion and see why it took the form it did.

3.4 EARLY TEACHING

3.4.1 Incubation and Integration

As we have seen, the expulsion of the Ndlambe and other independent clans from the Zuurveld led to a heightened increase in socio-cultural disturbance in the mid-1810s. Nxele's response was to develop a thaumaturgical doctrine. He promised a mass resurrection of the ancestors that was clearly influenced by Christian expectations, but the way it was assimilated into Xhosa belief gained its power from its relatedness to the other realities of their existence rather than being discontinuous from them, and therefore does not have the paradoxical quality that such beliefs normally have in the Christian tradition. This reaction to crisis was entirely protective, a defensive solution which tended to close down on growth. In contrast, Ntsikana's response was to seek the enrichment of Xhosa tradition, which therefore remained open to growth.

Salzman provides a useful analysis of religious conversion which takes account of the insights of psychological theory and throws light on Ntsikana's experience. (94) Salzman defines religious conversion "as a specific instance of the general principle of change in the process of human adaptation". He observes that in theological terms, conversion "has been used in a special sense to imply a marked alteration of one's spiritual state through a superior power, generally meaning a Godhead. It is a development which implies some spiritual or mystical significance".

Ntsikana's conversion is represented as a sudden and dramatic crisis in his life. But Salzman argues that conversion is always preceded by a period of incubation or preparation. In this antecedent preparatory phase there can be a building up of tension from which there is conversion out of an old state of being, or a growth in ideas, which fosters conversion into a new state of being. The second option accounts for evangelical conversion, with a consequent opening up for growth, and would apply to Ntsikana. The incubation is climaxed by "a final triggering or precipitating event or confluence of events which produces the sudden, dramatic, and obvious change". It is emphasized that "when a profound change in philosophy, ideology, or ethics occurs, the hidden but encompassing struggle is particularly significant".

Salzman distinguishes between expedient conversions, and those which are serious attempts to resolve a deep

inner conflict. Expedient conversions are "conscious, deliberate, intentional, and calculated". They are a practical solution to an immediate problem and are not the result of a deep inner struggle, nor do they represent a profound inner change. But they are nonetheless quite genuine. The two major types of conversion are identified as the progressive or maturational type and the regressive or psychopathological type. The progressive type

> occurs in the course of real maturing; it takes place when the person, after a reasoned, thoughtful search, adopts new values and goals which he has determined to be higher than those he has abandoned. It occurs in reasonably normal persons, and when it is a religious conversion, represents the achievement of the ultimate in the humanistic religions - the positive fulfilment of one's powers with self-awareness, concern for others, and oneness with the world.

Typically, this type of conversion is "an integrating, maturing development in the life of the person"; and is equated with the "Aha" experience, "when one finally notices something which effects massive changes in the personality structure". In religious people there is a feeling of moving to a higher understanding based on their idea of God.

The regressive type of conversion fits that theological approach which says "man's extremity is God's opportunity".

> It is a highly charged, profound, emotional experience which occurs during attempts to solve pressing and serious problems in living, or to deal with extreme disintegrating conflicts. It may take the form of a mystical emotional change in religious affiliation or a sudden, dramatic enthusiasm within the framework of the individual's own group.

Salzman calls this type of conversion a pseudo-solution, and designates it as regressive because it appears to be "a destructive, disintegrating process", in contrast to the progressive type which constitutes "a constructive and integrating process".

Salzman's analysis has been dealt with in some detail because Ntsikana stands accused of political opportunism.

But the evidence is that his conversion was a genuine religious experience. Nor is there any sign of regression. Rather, it can be seen as "an integrating, maturing development" which led to a profound inner change. This must have taken place during the fifteen years which elapsed between Vanderkemp's ministry to the Xhosa and his final dramatic "moment of perception" in the cattle byre. This experience cannot be separated from its expression in symbolic language and Ntsikana had no other language to draw on but that of his tradition. (95)

We cannot be sure what finally triggered Ntsikana's conversion. We know that he was living among the Ndlambe at the time, and that the socio-political factors which precipitated a complete change in Nxele's behaviour were equally relevant in providing him with an existential need. It would seem that the precipitating event in Ntsikana's case was Nxele's prophecy about the rising of the ancestors. No sooner had Ntsikana sent an ox as proof of his loyalty to the supreme doctor of the Ndlambe, than his conversion caused him to retract the offering and confront Nxele with an alternative doctrine. The question is, why did Nxele go one way and Ntsikana the other?

As I have argued, the insecurity of Nxele's background aggravated his need to belong and thus gave him flexibility. This does not mean his change was in any way deliberately deceptive. His conversion could be real, what Salzman calls expedient; but it was not the result of a deep inner struggle leading to a real depth of commitment. His struggle was to be accepted, whereas Ntsikana had hereditary status as a councillor and was deeply rooted in Xhosa tradition. He could afford to stand back from the immediate pressures and consider the events in longer range terms. Whatever conversion may produce it is always a seeking after integration, i.e. the resolution of a problem which in some way is dividing the self. What emerges from Ntsikana's conversion is an integration quite different from that of Nxele : a reliance on divine power and submission to the will of God, rather than a manipulation of the divine.

3.4.2 Rival Doctrines

Besides his use of elements of the old as carriers of change, Ntsikana also introduced a number of innovations which clearly reflect missionary influence. What is significant is that whereas he could have been expected to cash what he had heard within his own tradition, he was inspired to add new content to the tradition. The

difficulty in assessing his development during the first stage is that in all probability his biographers either misplaced much of what he was supposed to have taught during this period, so anticipating his growth in Christian discipleship, or else read back more Christian content than was ever present in his teaching. The one sure indicator is that Ntsikana's earliest preaching was formulated in direct opposition to Nxele.

Ntsikana's first words after his conversion were "why does Nxele mislead the people?" And initially this was his constant refrain. (96) In the tradition given by Kaye, Ntsikana goes on to challenge his rival, saying,

> To me it is said that Nxele errs in saying that the Chief who made all things in heaven and earth is upon the earth. The Lord has said to me he is in heaven. He is right in saying that there are two Lords, but is wrong in saying that their names are Dalidiphu and Tayi. It is Thixo who is in heaven, and his son. Beware of the thing that will descend upon you, it will come from out the heavens to destroy the world, it will not come out of the earth. (97)

This exposition of Ntsikana's teaching contains a number of revolutionary new concepts, some of which can be related to Vanderkemp. The main points were his insistence on a relationship with "God alone" and within this context the Lordship of Jesus the Son of God, a move towards a spatial location for heaven, and linked with this the beginnings of an understanding of the divine as a transcendent being, the sense of history moving towards an end and of man standing under the judgement of God.

The crux of Ntsikana's message revolves around his understanding of heaven, because we seem to have here a transitional stage between the background god of Xhosa tradition, who is mainly acknowledged in creation, and the transcendent God of the Hebrew-Christian tradition, who, although he can be perceived in all things, is beyond all things. According to Callaway's informant, Nxele and Ntsikana had a dispute about the realm of the supreme being. Nxele said that he was beneath the earth, while Ntsikana said he was above, "in the high place ... from whence power proceeds". (98)

Traditional ideas about the abode of the ancestors were undefined but they were generally believed to live around the homestead or in an underworld. The location of

Nxele's deities as being upon or below the earth conformed with this view and was a particularistic concept. Ntsikana's concept of heaven, on the other hand, shows him moving towards a spatial imagery with universalistic dimensions. This is comparable with the Old Testament at its most profound in the dedication prayer of Solomon. (99)

The word izulu means sky or weather. (100) It was used to denote "above" in the sense of indicating the heights and depths which are associated with the ancestor spirits, and could be as close as just above the hut. (101) Callaway gives Ntsikana as using pezulu for heaven. The meaning of pezulu is "above and upward"; (102) and again this does not necessarily mean high above. Its association with the concept of heaven is probably of missionary origin of a later date. Even today many Africans still regard the location of heaven as a place in the sky not far above the clouds. (103)

It would seem that in traditional thinking there was little sense of a spatial dimension of heaven; and without a radical gap between the background god and the realm of nature there would be little understanding of the divine as a transcendent being. Ntsikana's use of pezulu (phezulu), therefore, could still have had particularistic connotations. But Callaway says that he also used sempakameni (semphakameni) to denote heaven as "the high place", higher than all others. Umphakamo means height, elevation, exaltation.(104) The greater height portrayed indicates a spatial dimension with a more universalistic oversight. This together with Ntsikana's reference to God's power descending from heaven seems convincing evidence of his development of a sense of the transcendence of God.

Ntsikana's notion of two Lords was unlikely to have been an original idea and is indicative of missionary influence. It is of consequence that his representation of God as the "Chief of heaven and earth" is also found in Vanderkemp, as is the idea of Jesus, the son of God, being "Lord of heaven". Ntsikana does not see the two Lords as two deities, as does Nxele, nor is he getting into Greek philosophy and trying to resolve the problem of claiming two persons as Lord. For him there is no problem. He puts the Father and his son in an hierarchical order which conforms with the traditional belief system, for the chief will naturally have an heir. Although he is still being monotheistic, there is a fairly deep resonance between Christianity and African teaching.

Ntsikana's next step was to challenge Nxele on his

teaching about the resurrection of the ancestors; and to introduce the idea of sin and repentance, and the need for all men for salvation through faith in Christ.

> Nxele lies in saying he can open the vault of heaven. He lies in saying Ngqika must be prevented from hearing this news. He lies in saying people must put away witchcraft. What is witchcraft but (the badness of) the heart of man. He lies in saying that incest has its author. To me it is said that all men are sinners.
>
> Even to Hintsa convey these tidings of the Father of all, who made all things. He excepts no person, for he is not like a human being who is prejudiced. The time is passing, the great word is coming, the word of God, it comes from above.
>
> To me it is said, tell all the people, a great indifference will fall upon the people, they will reject it (the word of God), yet it is life. It is said that we who are here, are here through the son of God, who intercedes for us with the father. (105)

Ntsikana's most pressing concern was that Nxele was misleading the people through his false prophecies and promises. This was the focus of their rivalry when it came to immediate action. "Go and fetch the people," urged Ntsikana, "I do not see anything happening in the land because of the word of Nxele ... Why does he say he will raise the dead? Can he open the heaven and close it again? And how did they die that they can be raised again by a man? ... Do not believe in Nxele's words which say he will resurrect the dead. Try to worship Thixo because he has power over death (106) ... You only go to wash yourselves with sea-water at Gompo." (107)

Tradition records that the people now began to see that Ntsikana had amandla (power, force, strength, authority). (108) Of interest here is the way Ntsikana contrasts the "word of Nxele" with the "word of God", the power in words being seen within traditional thought-patterns as a confrontation between competing sources of power. But Ntsikana moves to focussing on the actual character of the Christian God, and follows Vanderkemp in seeing the "word of God" as "life" not only in the sense of creatio ex nihilo but as the quality of

life.

Ntsikana's opposition to Nxele over telling Ngqika "the news" revolves around Xhosa ideas of sin and pollution. As Wilson indicates, "what is sinful is to ignore the rules regarding pollution". (109) Pollution was generally associated with certain physiological conditions such as birth and death, menstruation, recent sexual activity and certain medicines. The root of pollution is said to be "the mixing of things which it is felt should be kept separate". (110) No man can deny the existence of disruptive elements in his experience but where there are no scientific explanations and techniques to fill the gap of explanation, ritual is the means whereby man comes to terms with the threatening aspects of life. It is the means whereby chaos is kept at bay. Anything that is an anomaly is regarded as polluting and dangerous and has to be avoided. The ritual prohibitions in the book of Leviticus provide the biblical parallel for this more rudimentary thought on sin. (111)

Among the Xhosa, the taboos (amaconini) were legion and covered every aspect of life. (112) Failure to observe the taboos was a moral infaction against society and was thought to be contaminating and dangerous to the body corporate. (113) Wilson suggests that there is "a link between concepts of pollution and a sense of guilt, but often it is not direct". (114) However, it is a different sense of guilt. It is a communal failing of the individual and therefore a sense of alienation from the body corporate.

The Xhosa regarded incest (umbulo) (115) with horror and dread because it violated "the marriage custom affecting the degrees of consanguinity". (116) Members of a clan, no matter how far removed, could not marry because they were regarded as brothers and sisters in their extended family. An infraction of this rule was punished by a fine, but the fear of supernatural retribution was a far greater deterrent. Ngqika's incestuous relationship with his uncle's wife was regarded as having seriously endangered his whole following. But while Nxele singled the chief out as a sinner, Ntsikana taught that all men were sinners because they all had evil in their hearts, not just those accused of incest and witchcraft. Further, the way to new life in God, for even such as Ngqika, was through admission of sins and faith in the saving grace of Christ, because the son of God was the mediator with the Father for our sins.

Ntsikana's teaching on sin, the need for repentance and salvation in Christ, appears to conform with the

standard evangelical teaching of the missionaries; but a closer look shows that his understanding of the subject moved through a number of different stages as he grew in his understanding of the Christian tradition. This will be discussed below; but it is apparent from his insistence that all should be told his message from the Xhosa paramount down, in contrast to Nxele who would exclude those in opposition, like Ngqika, from his teaching, that he was developing a sense of history moving toward an end and of all men standing under the judgement of God.

Ntsikana ended his diatribe against Nxele by challenging his authority.

> I am not like Nxele. I am sent by God, but am only like a candle. Those who are chiefs will remain chiefs because they were made such by Him, and only He can take it away; I have not added anything to myself. I remain as I was. Nxele is wrong in saying that he should be saluted; he is not a chief.(117)

Ntsikana is pointing out here the dangers of Nxele's aspirations to power. The chiefs had inherited their authority as members of the Tshawe royal clan. But Nxele was a commoner who had usurped his new status. Ntsikana admonished Nxele for saying that he must be praised like a chief and for being avaricious in demanding gifts of cattle. Ntsikana himself held authority as a councillor and there seems to be no evidence that he abused his position, nor had he any pretensions to power or prestige. (118) Indeed in his situation it seems unlikely that he would have held such expectations as he had little to gain. (119) The onus therefore falls on those who would argue that he was making a bid for power to provide evidence for their position. Ntsikana represented himself as "the servant of God", and there are numerous references to his being "a light in the land of darkness". (120) In Xhosa the same word is used for candle and light. (121) On Ntsikana's deathbed he told his disciples, "I have been your light, ... I was sent". (122) This symbolism relating to light may well be yet anoher link with Vanderkemp, for he associated the "word of God" with "the light of the Gentiles". (123)

3.4.3 "Do You Be Quiet Ntsikana"

According to the tradition, the response to Ntsikana's message was at first bewilderment, followed by rejection.

He sent men to Chief Ndlambe to tell him of the word of God, and to warn him that Nxele was wrong. But the people could not understand Ntsikana's news, while Nxele's teaching was easily comprehensible and promised to meet their present needs. (124) Ndlambe gave his ruling : "Hold your peace. Do you be quiet Ntsikana. We are now listening to Nxele. Our ears will be confused if we listen to both of you at the same time." (125)

Ntsikana sent a message back to the chief, saying, "This is not my word ... This thing that has entered within me does not allow me to be quiet (sleep), it says I must speak." But the messengers returned without an answer. Ntsikana then said, "If you don't accept this blessing I will take it to Ngqika." He made plans forthwith to go to Ngqika that the word of God might begin with his people. (126)

Nxele had caused great confusion among the Ngqika at this time by prophesying in the name of Tayi that they would become "firewood and ants". The meaning of this is said to be that they would be slain in the war that was then brewing with the Ndlambe, and that their dead bodies would become food for the ants and manure for the forest. (127) Bokwe adds that this was no doubt a well-devised ruse of Nxele to strike fear in the Ngqika foes, and weaken their resistance. At any rate the Ngqika streamed to join Ndlambe convinced that they were otherwise destined to suffer some great misfortune because of their chief's grave misdemeanour and collaboration with the whites.

Ntsikana responded by sending two messengers to Ngqika informing him of his return home, saying, "why do you let our people scatter? Not one of these things spoken by Nxele will happen. Let the people remain. I too am coming." Ngqika was feeling decidedly threatened by the build up of Ndlambe power and was only too glad to welcome someone who promised to counteract Nxele's rapidly growing influence in the opposition camp. So it was that Ntsikana left Gqorha to live among the Ngqika where tradition says, "he preached the word of God with strength and courage". (128)

3.5 PRAYERS AND PREACHING AT MANKAZANA

3.5.1 Ntsikana's Services

The story goes that on the way to Ngqika, Ntsikana spent a night with the father of his Great Wife, Banya, near the Keiskamma River, where he was well received. He

preached the word of God to the people of that place and two of Ganya's brothers were among those who believed. (129) This is the first record of Ntsikana establishing a following.

Ntsikana's Great Wife belonged to the Jwara clan, the same clan as Soga, one of Ngqika's leading councillors. So it was that when Ntsikana arrived at Mankazana, the Great Place of Ngqika, the chief gave Soga charge of him because of their family connections. Soga settled him over the hills at Thwatwa, at a place called Jadu, named after a stream that ran into the Mankazana River. (130) This is not far from the Dutch Reformed Church mission which was later established at Hertzog in the Seymour district. Ntsikana was warmly welcomed by the people at Thwatwa. The women at once set about building him a large hut, while the men fenced a cattle kraal of thorn bushes for him. (131)

Ntsikana held services twice daily at his homestead and observed Sunday as a day of rest. (132) His times were at dawn in the morning and after the evening meal. He soon gathered together a following, drawn from the clans round about. This was a break with tradition as the customary worshipping group was primarily based on kinship. Their regular meeting together for worship was another innovation. Once more Vanderkemp may have been the model as he followed the identical format in his services except that he had Bible readings.

Ntsikana held his meetings either in his hut or under a large shady boerbean tree (umgonci or Schotia speciosa). This variety of tree has symbolic associations with good fortune, magic and strength. (133) What is more, stones were placed round the tree as seats. This is confirmed by John Muir Vimbe, who was the same age as Ntsikana's son, Dukwana, and who attended the services with his mother. Although the stones had an obvious practical value, the Xhosa usually crouched or sat on the ground for ritual celebrations and the stones may well have had mystical associations similar to the izigugo or kneeling-places of the Zulu. (134) No mention is made of such kneeling-places in Xhosa sources but similar stone circles are found elsewhere in Africa and they also have ritual significance. (135)

When Ntsikana held services in his hut, he always sat next to the doorway, a sacred place of the ancestors which corresponds with the gateway of the cattle byre, while the congregation filled the rest of the hut. We note here how the new places of worship are set aside and get fixed.

Although there are some symbolic associations with the cattle byre, where the ritual celebrations to the ancestors took place, the place of "God" is nonetheless quite distinct. During Ntsikana's lifetime the hut and tree with its stone seats came to be known as "the church of Ntsikana" by his disciples.

Two bell-stones (iintsimbi) (136) have been found on the hill near where Ntsikana is said to have lived, and not far from his grave. He is supposed to have summoned his followers to worship in the same way the missionaries did, by striking a piece of iron, and the concave blocks of ironstone make the same sound. (137) The bell-stone is rung by being struck with another stone and combinations of different notes can be obtained depending on which part of it is struck. It gives a clear tone which is likened to the ringing of a church bell and this can be heard some distance in the surrounding countryside. (138)

The new meaning which Ntsikana gave to so much of his tradition was even extended to his clothing. The magical power of clothes, which encompasses their sacramental value, is an ancient African belief. Not surprisingly the leopard-skin kaross or cloak which Ntsikana wore came to acquire mystical associations.

The ingubo (139) or umnweba (140) was a garment of animal skins that covered the whole body. This full-length cloak worn by Xhosa males was a distinctive dress which none of the early travellers failed to comment on, more especially the fact that when a man walked the cloak swung open exposing his nudity, and that it was discarded in hot weather or in dancing. (141) Chiefs and councillors wore leopard-skin cloaks as a symbol of their rank. (142) But although Ntsikana dressed like a councillor, he started a new fashion after his conversion of always keeping his body covered by his cloak. Noyi describes him as "a real gentleman" for even when he slept he would tie up the upper part of his robe. It was this "great blanket of sleeping" in which he was buried. (143) This is another example of the transitional stage of his new practices as his disciples all took to wearing western clothes.

Oral tradition maintains that Ntsikana read his teaching, prophecies and hymns from the hem of his cloak, and that when singing he would point at the spot with his finger. (144) These beliefs show that Ntsikana's charisma and associations with symbols of mystical power all helped to establish his authority and attract a following.

3.5.2 "The Milk Basket of Heaven"

Ntsikana taught his people to pray and praise God. (145) Four hymns are attributed to him but they may well be variations of the same hymn. They were the first to be composed in Xhosa and provided an outlet for the expression of the new language of faith in music.

Ntsikana wove the hymns into his order of service. He would start by standing in front of his hut at dawn, calling the people to worship by chanting his hymn called Intsimbi kaNtsikana - Ntsikana's Bell. As his followers gathered for morning prayer they would join in the singing of the Bell. At the end of the hymn Ntsikana would go into his hut followed by his congregation. He would then settle them down with the singing of Dalibom - Creator of Life. After making some remarks, or by way of quietening his audience, Ntsikana would raise Ingoma Engukuva - the Round Hymn or Poll-headed song. Finally, he would start his preaching by singing Ulo Tixo omkulu - the Great Hymn. (146) Makapela Balfour describes Ntsikana's preaching as he remembered it as a boy :

> When he starts this song the people would stand or sit along the wall of the hut waiting for the word of God, and when the whole congregation followed him then he would start telling them about this thing that had entered him, this thing that hated sin. And he would explain to them how they had sinned in their daily lives, pointing out whatever in them was hateful to God. He would then preach until others would find themselves outside because it was so full and this was because everyone had come to listen to this thing. Through his preaching people would cry tears which would flow like water, coming from those sitting right inside the house flowing towards the hearth.
>
> This was a time when sin and incest were hated among the Xhosa. A time when those who were caught committing adultery would be killed by being hung from a tree and devoured by wild animals like the hyena.
>
> This man used to preach about Christ saying, "Repent, repent all of you from your sins," telling them about the son of God, the only one from his Father, the big blanket, the

> forest of truth, the stronghold of truth, and the cliff of truth . (147)

These symbolic praises of God relate to the first part of the Great hymn. Although Zaze, son of Soga, was born after Ntsikana's death, the record of Ntsikana's preaching which Zaze obtained from his father and other disciples is similar.

> Ntsikana used to preach saying, "This thing says let us pray and forsake sins." And he would start counting his sins and bad things which were conducted in those times in the life of the Xhosa.

The "bad things" which Ntsikana is said to have cited can be divided between moral infractions such as lying, theft, witchcraft, adultery, fornication and murder, and social practices such as putting on red ochre and "going to ritual dances". The last can be understood as participation in ritual practices associated with the ancestor cult rather than dancing as such. How much of this may have been a development arising from Williams's teaching is not known; but it is clear that the teaching against circumcision, lobola and polygyny followed by Ntsikana's disciples is a later development arising from their attachment to a mission. (148)

Prayer was a regular part of Ntsikana's daily life as well as of his services. He would entreat his followers "to pray earnestly and often to God". (149) According to his son, he would pray through the night while the people were all asleep. (150) An example of his prayers, as given by Zaze Soga, not only shows the early development of the content of his teaching, but also a move towards prayer as a personal communion with God.

> Ntsikana ... preached the Christianity of those times though dimly the Christianity of those times was. These ancestors began to understand God as a Creator who created all things, insects, birds which are beautiful to the eye. When they prayed they used to say that all beautiful things have been made by God, and that all the bad ones had been created by Satan. And when they prayed they said, "You God who are in heaven, thou handsome one, who created birds and animals

such and such." And of course they would count all the beautiful ones who had not, like Satan, when he had wanted to create a bird he produced a bat and an owl. That was how dim the Christianity of those early days was, of people who were still in darkness . (151)

Ntsikana's attempts to come to grips with the problem of good and evil can be linked with the myth of the coming of death as given by Tiyo Soga, brother of Zaze. Here the "Creator", who is the maker of all the "beautiful things" in life, is always opposed by an enemy of man, the creator of all the evil things, identified now as Satan. Ntsikana may well have been the author of this version of the myth and if he was, one can understand the pressure on him to do so. In a monistic world view all things have an explanation. With the coming of a creator and a dualistic world view, the problem of theodicy is raised in all its forms. In this transitional stage it would simply not be possible in emphasizing the creator of the good to ignore the source of evil, or even regard it as a mystery presently beyond human comprehension. It is therefore highly significant that in this early stage we find both dualism and a need for total explanation. The strong echoes of Vanderkemp's teaching indicate the most likely source of mission influence.

Yet another possible link with Vanderkemp relates to the use of symbolic imagery in the description of Ntsikana as "the milk-basket of heaven". (152) The imvaba or milk-sack of the Xhosa was a leather container in which milk was fermented and curdled. (153) The milk-basket, ithunga, was a vessel made for milking. (154) The basket was woven by the women from a strong reed grass that grew near the water. The grass was finely twisted and plaited, and then rubbed with grease so as to make the milk-basket watertight. (155) The image of Ntsikana as "the milk-basket of heaven" carries the idea of the milk of heaven being poured into him. Milk also has powerful imagery in itself as a ritual food. Ntsikana thus became the source of spiritual nourishment, carrying the "food of God" to his people. (156) Vanderkemp drew on similar traditional imagery when he referred to his instruction of his convert Sarah as feeding her with "the milk of the word of God". (157)

The milk-sack (imvaba) image later came to represent a missionary society of a particular denomination. (158) In the 1860s, Tiyo Soga records that his people would go a long way "to drink the milk of the Word" from the milk-sack

to which they were accustomed, meaning their denomination; and failing that they "would take the milk that most closely resembled that from their own cherished milk-sack". (159)

3.5.3 The Earliest Followers

No sooner had Ntsikana settled at Thwatwa than Ngqika sent Soga, a leading councillor, "to personally investigate the truth of Ntsikana's message as it was causing a mighty stir in the land". (160) This was according to custom as it was the chief who would sanction the activity of a diviner or other religious authority and he would send his councillors to hear their communications. (161)

Soga was the eldest son of Jotello, head of the Jwara sub-clan. (162) Jotello was renowned for his wisdom as a councillor and his bravery on the battlefield. Soga, the very epitomy of all that was most prized in Xhosa tradition, was yet so impressed with Ntsikana's teaching that he immediately became a believer, and advised his chief to become a follower too. (163) Soga himself began to hold prayer meetings in his homestead, morning and evening, just like Ntsikana; and his Great Wife, Nosuthu, together with other members of his family became disciples of Ntsikana.

Soga's ready acceptance of "the word of God" may partly be explained by the fact that he would have had some prior contact with the L.M.S. missionaries on their occasional visits to Ngqika's Great Place. Furthermore, his one wife belonged to the amaNtinde clan which, through Dyani Tshatshu, had had closer contact with missionary teaching. Even more important, however, was the family connection through Ntsikana's wife of the Jwara clan. Xhosa marriage did not only involve the union of two people, but rather the linking of two groups of ¸kin with the consequent social implications. No doubt the socio-political factors that had precipitated Ntsikana's conversion would have applied to Soga too. His situation might have been further aggravated by a conflict between his loyalty to his chief and the questioning of Ngqika's leadership ability. On the other side, Ntsikana's credibility was greatly enhanced by his political status. In the words of Zaze Soga,

> It so happened that while Ntsikana was at Thwatwa he moved all over the land of the Ngqika, sometimes going to the Great Place, sometimes going here and there, preaching this

> new thing to the people of Ngqika. Of course this man was respected because he was one of them, and moreover was a councillor among councillors. (164)

Ngqika went to listen to Ntsikana and was sufficiently interested to become a regular visitor, bringing his councillors and wives with him. In between whiles there was a constant exchange of news through messengers. The chief's lead was vital in establishing Ntsikana's authority among his people, but they were slow to follow.

> On Ntsikana's preaching, his people accepted this thing, even though they did not tumble over one another in going into it, considering how eagerly he was urging them ... Ngqika was the first to accept it. He said, "In order that the thing may be acceptable, I had better be the first to join it. " But because he adhered so much to his outmoded Xhosa way of life, he was esily led away from his aim by his councillors. (165)

Ngqika had of course already received personal instruction from Vanderkemp and seems to have been genuinely impressed by evangelistic preaching, if nothing else. The evidence is that Ntsikana's services were an emotional experience and tradition recalls seeing the chief weep openly during his sermons. (166) The fact that Ngqika's mother was descended from one of the survivors of the wreck of the Stavenisse may have been a contributory influence. But of greater significance was the fact that Ntsikana continued to function within his traditional milieu. It is said, "(Ngqika) knew that Ntsikana was as much a Gaika after his conversion as before", and that that is why he was not persecuted by the chief for becoming a Christian. (167) At the same time, Ngqika was desperately in need of a counter attraction to Nxele. But the chief's interest in the word of God was a tremendous threat to Xhosa custom and tradition, and he was confronted by strenuous opposition from most of his councillors who ultimately had the final say.

Previously Vanderkemp had claimed that his life had been endangered after Ngqika had been persuaded by his people that an eye inflammation was due to his attempt to read the word of God. Ngqika's councillors now warned him that he was jeopardizing his position. They told him "they had seen some Hottentots at Cathcart who professed

Christianity purge, and grow half-mad". (168) Ngqika was obviously uncertain which way to go at this stage as he even paid Nxele a visit. But his overtures to Nxele were rebuffed; and when the chief developed a recurrence of his eye infection shortly afterwards, his people said that this proved that Nxele was right in saying that prayer gave you sore eyes. (169) Ntsikana immediately responded by warning that Ngqika's eye ailment was a punishment from God because he had tried to curry favour with Nxele. (170) I will return to this theodicy issue when I discuss the Great hymn.

Ntsikana sent messengers to tell the other chiefs of the Xhosa, Thembu and Gqunukhwebe about the word of God but received short shrift. Hińtsa, the Xhosa paramount, dismissed his message saying that it was suitable only for the Mfengu, the Zulu refugees. Ntsikana's words were said to have been "too threatening to the chief's authority and to their humanity". (171) As I will be showing, his teaching could only serve the needs of those few who were searching for a new meaning in life.

3.6 PROPHECIES ; THE PEOPLE FROM THE EAST AND FROM THE WEST

3.6.1 The Prophecies and their References Book, Button and Land

According to tradition, Ngqika trusted Ntsikana because he spoke about many things which were seen to come true just as he had predicted. (172) Here he is functioning within the tradition as an imboni or seer to his chief, like Nxele, forecasting events of national importance within the immediate future. But it was his prophecies relating to a distant future that caused problems because they introduced a radical new concept of time which was outside his people's reality. Tradition relates that the spirit of prophecy came over Ntsikana one day when Ngqika was present at his service. Prophesying in the name of "this thing", he said,

> There are people with large ear lobes coming from the east, whom you have never seen before. Be careful of these people; do not receive them to dwell among you, but let them pass unmolested. If you let them pass, they will come back again, but even this time do not accept anything of theirs; then they will return to the place whence they came. If you

> receive them, they will raise the dust off their feet and leave it lying on you.
>
> There is another race with long hair (resembling tails of cattle) coming from the west. This is a wise race; be careful not to take all their wisdom. The main thing for you to receive from them is the word of God. Take care of the button that has no hole (money), it will mislead many. These are my witnesses who will bear me record. If you do not accept the word, I see this land being taken from the Ngqikas, and divided out to white men, and cut up into waggon roads. I see this country white with waggon roads. I see flocks of sheep grazing on it. I see this land filled with white houses. (173)

The people from the east with the strange ears, "bored like the curve of a dried ox-hide", were the Mfengu; and it is highly likely that the Xhosa had already received news that these Zulu refugees were on the move. The point is that Ntsikana was not a necromancer, using magic means to reveal the future. His warning to his people against allowing the Mfengu to settle among them was a perfectly logical deduction about the situation as he saw it, couched in a symbolic language typical of oral tradition. He clearly saw the danger of allowing large numbers of an alien culture to infiltrate Xhosa society. It was one thing for a reasonably stable society to incorporate small groups of Khoi and San through patron-client relationships and intermarriage over an extended period of time. But a society already under pressure could not hope to survive a mass migration into its midst. Ntsikana's reference to the "dust" of the strangers relates to the idea that a person's life force can be transmitted to the soil on which he walks. He is therefore warning his people against being overwhelmed by a stronger force over which they had no control.

The Xhosa failed to heed Ntsikana's advice and the Mfengu's role in contributing to the Xhosa loss of independence and dispossession of their land proved him right. Initially Hintsa allowed the Mfengu to settle in his Gcaleka chiefdom. Because they were rootless the Mfengu responded readily to missionary teaching and this led them to ally themselves to the whites. During the frontier war of 1835-6, the majority moved with their missionary, John Ayliff, to Kaffraria and were settled on

land forfeited by the Xhosa in their defeat. In subsequent frontier wars the Mfengu repeatedly fought with the whites against the Xhosa, and were rewarded with yet more land as the Xhosa were moved ever eastward into ever diminishing locations. When we follow the Ntsikana tradition it will be seen how the animosity, which the conflict between the two black groups engendered, continues in the ethnic rivalry of today.

William Kobe, son of Ntsikana, was the first to write this prophecy down, in 1864. By that time the Ngqika had been removed from their ancestral home in the Amatole basin to a reserve west of the Great Kei River. Makapela Balfour's version, recorded in 1878, claims that Ntsikana prophesied that the Ngqika would be moved to between the Nciba (Kei) and Mbashe Rivers. Following the Ninth and last Frontier war of 1877-78 they were in fact moved to the new district of Kentani in Gcalekaland, Transkei, in this region. Clearly such details could have been added to the prophecy at this time to add prestige to Ntsikana's name, as will be discussed later. But the basic information is found in all the different sources; and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity as it can be understood as a perfectly logical assessment of the shape of things to come in terms of Ntsikana's new understanding.

His prophecy about the coming of the whites is derided by many today with the argument that he was speaking about something which the Xhosa already knew. Of course the frontier clans could not fail to have had some contact with whites whether they were travellers, Boer commandoes, British soldiers, missionaries or colonial authorities. But what the Xhosa failed to comprehend was the shattering consequences of the white encroachment. Ntsikana is taking a long view of the situation and is trying to warn his people of the inevitable changes the whites would bring. His reference to the race with hair like the tails of cattle, or the silk of a maize cob as is given in some versions, is purely a symbolic representation and not meant to add mystery. It is only the Mfengu whom, he says, they have not seen before.

Although Ntsikana had not crossed west of the Fish River, the Ndlambe people's experience of living among the Boers in the Zuurveld would have been common knowledge and he had lived among the Ndlambe. His prediction that his country would be overwhelmed by white settlement, as represented in the outward signs of their civilization - waggon roads, white houses and flocks of sheep - was an astute reading of the course of contemporary events as witnessed in the white takeover of the Zuurveld. The Xhosa

had no waggons so had no need for roads. They lived in round mud huts with roofs of thatched grass. Square white painted houses with separate rooms were to become synonymous with conversion to Christianity. They did not breed sheep but the border clans had purloined animals from their Boer neighbours. However, the grazing was more suited to cattle than sheep and the thick bush made the tending of sheep a hazardous occupation. (174) Sheep farming came into vogue only after the white and Khoi farmers had cleared the land east of the Fish River. (175)

The Xhosa response to the white advance is generally seen in terms of two opposing "strategies for survival". The one is for resistance and is epitomized by the leadership of Ndlambe with Nxele as his adviser. The other is for collaboration as followed by Ngqika and Ntsikana is supposed to have given him full support. But we shall see that although Ntsikana accepted the white man's religion, he counselled Ngqika against asking the British for aid in deciding the struggle for power with Ndlambe. Those who would see him purely as a political innovator, articulating the need for change, do not do justice to his Christian conviction and the price he paid for his witness in the form of persecution and suffering at the hands of both black and white.

One criticism of Ntsikana's prophecy by blacks is couched in a popular African saying : "When the white men came they had the Bible and we had the land. Now they have the land and we have the Bible." (176) The feeling is that the blacks would have been better off taking "the button with no hole (igosha elingenamnxuma)", i.e. money. Christianity is seen by them as "part of an exploitative pattern and as a factor in political subjugation and a denial of human dignity". (177) This argument portrays the way in which the gospel has been abused in the name of capitalism and colonialism. Ntsikana's Christianity was concerned with grace to endure the vicissitudes of a rapidly changing socio-cultural situation. He saw the need to incorporate elements of the new, but it was to be a selective assimilation on the Xhosa's own terms. His acceptance of the word of God was a creative response which enriched his culture.

Soga was the first Xhosa to participate actively in a money economy some time after Ntsikana's death. During Ntsikana's lifetime white visitors to Xhosaland gave buttons as well as knives, cloth, copper wire and trinkets as a medium of exchange. But Vanderkemp for one had money with him, as did the white fugitives living among the Xhosa, so that even though there was as yet no use for

money in local commerce, its value was beginning to be known.

Ntsikana warned his people against being misled by money because he saw that it would lead to the erosion of the whole value system which bound his society together. In a traditional African community anything which fosters individual gain must be to the detriment of kinship obligations and corporate responsibility, so denying the basic ethic of reciprocity and shattering group solidarity. Ntsikana's prophecy is understood by black Christians today as "a warning against chasing after money to the neglect of a true spiritual commitment, because this results in the downfall of the nation". It is not the use of money but greed and materialism which is dehumanizing. Money brings power which can enslave and corrupt. Tradition records that Ntsikana "called for water, and as he spilled it, he said that if the nation chose the button it would spill off like water". (178)

Similar prophecies have been made in other parts of Africa and couched in similar symbolic terms, the difference being that the source of revelation is more typically the ancestors. At much the same time as Ntsikana, King Sobhuza I of Swaziland is said to have had a revelation, "the Vision of Somhlolo (the Wonder)" in which he also described the advent of a foreign race with hair resembling the tails of cattle. The exact meaning of his message is debateable but it is generally supposed that he advised his people to accept the knowledge of the bible and to be beware of something "round and shining", which was taken to mean money. (179)

Claypot and Barrel

An extension of Ntsikana's prophecy is that "from the east would come the claypot of corn beer brought by the Mfengu, and from the west the "little barrel" brought by the white man, and that these two would bring misfortune to the Xhosa". This prediction is possibly the most widely quoted and it may well have been handed down in the oral tradition of Ntsikana, but the first reference to it in the written tradition is by the poet-historian William W. Gqoba in 1887. (180) Gqoba was born in 1840 and speaks with the authority of his close association with Ntsikana's disciples. But it is strange that not one of them makes mention of this prediction in the earlier versions of the prophecy. This may well be an example of the way in which a living tradition grows to incorporate new concepts to meet the needs of a changing situation, in this instance

the ideals of the burgeoning temperance movement among Xhosa Christians in the late nineteenth century. However, it will be treated as one of Ntsikana's prophecies as it is generally accepted as such and bears the mark of authenticity.

Nowadays, beer is a ritual symbol synonymous with the ancestors, the ceremonial drinking of beer being an integral part of the ancestor cult. (181) Kuckertz goes so far as to call beer "a symbol that interprets the world" because of its role in uniting a person's social and religious universes into a single scheme of meaningfulness. (182) But there is some debate as to when beer first came into regular use among the Xhosa.

Bokwe and T.B. Soga are both adament that only amasi or sour milk was used in former times. (183) Wauchope agrees saying that honey beer, acquired most probably from the Khoisan, was drunk on social occasions but that "Kafir beer" was not known in Ntsikana's day. (184) Nonetheless, the earliest records, given by survivors of a shipwreck on the Transkei coast in 1593, mention wine made from millet. (185) The survivors of the Stavenisse in 1687 also refer to millet beer, but the reference is probably to the Natal south coast. (186) Barrow and Campbell maintain that in the early nineteenth century the Xhosa did not make beer, and that they drank only sour milk. (187) This is discounted by the more authoritative evidence of Vanderkemp (1800), Alberti (1807) and Lichtenstein (1812), who all give descriptions of the making of a fermented liquor from millet, known as utywala, which tasted "almost like beer", but was of "a much more intoxicating quality, and much sooner spoiled". (188) They also make reference to "a better sort ... called inguhja, which is not unlike wine". However, Vanderkemp records that the Xhosa were "moderate" in their drinking, while Alberti notes that beer was a rare treat.

It would seem, therefore, that Ntsikana would have been familiar with utywala. But the possibility exists that the Mfengu brought with them a stronger type of beer and that this is what Ntsikana could have been warning his people against. This theory corresponds with Bryant's findings that Zulu beer-making was influenced by a new type of sorghum introduced by the Portuguese after the Xhosa had separated from them. (189) This is supported by oral evidence. It is said that Ngqika took a couple of Mfengu wives because of their skill in making beer, (190) while the early name of the beer is given as "intombe yaseMbo", daughter or girl from Emboland, the origin of the Mfengu being Emboland. (191) European informants who post-date

the coming of the Mfengu, like Brownlee (1827), Steedman (1835), Alexander (1837) and Holden (1866), refer to the brewing of millet beer by the Xhosa, but there is no indication as to any change in its social or ritual importance except that it was a general practice for beer to be drunk on festive occasions. (192) The beer did not cause intoxication except when drunk in large quantities, and drunkenness as understood among Europeans did not then prevail among the Xhosa. However, Ntsikana could well have sounded a warning against the "little barrel" of the white man as the taste for alchoholic beverages was spreading rapidly among the people on the border during his day, and some of the chiefs were becoming addicted to strong drink. (193)

When Ngqika first came to power he would exchange hospitality with the colonial authorities and army officers, but a San servant was required to taste the wine and brandy offered him before he would partake. (194) At this stage he "drank wine with pleasure, but drank little". (195) But his decline in authority in the 1810s was accompanied by a degeneration in moral character, and the records of the time make frequent references to his importuning for wine and brandy. (196) By 1827, the Methodist missionary, William Shaw, was warning Ngqika against "the evil of drunkenness, to which he is much addicted", and refused his requests for brandy. (197) By the second half of the nineteenth century the Xhosa bards were bewailing the havoc caused by the white man's liquor, especially among the chiefs. The Mfengu were held partly to blame for the breakdown in society caused by drink, and this was seen as the fulfilment of Ntsikana's prophecy. (198) By the turn of the century a non-intoxicating beer called amarhewu had come to be associated with the Xhosa Christians. (199)

3.6.2. Prophecy in the African and Biblical Traditions

Prophets in Africa

The term "prophets" is applied loosely in the anthropological and historical literature to any leaders of emergent politico-religious movements with little attention being given to the way in which they function in quite different roles in quite different movements. One school of thought maintains that although there are many forms of spokesmen in a tradition, "prophet" in the west takes its principal meaning from either the classical biblical prophets of Israel or an Arab-Islamic tradition. They

would support Burridge in saying, "outside the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic traditions there can in the strict sense be no prophets, messiahs, or messianic traditions or expectations". (200) This view of prophecy stems from their understanding of time and their understanding of God.

Mbiti sums up this argument by stating, "in the strict biblical sense" there can be no "prophets" in African traditional societies primarily because of "the lack of a long dimension of the future in African concepts of time". (201) He contends that there might be other contributory factors but fails to enumerate them. Basically his argument hinges on the fact that without a linear concept of time in traditional African thought, there can be no concept of divine intervention in history, or of an end to the present order. (202) He concludes that only when an extended dimension of the future is discovered do "prophets" begin to emerge, as exemplified in the "prophetic" leaders of the many independent Christian sects in Africa.

Unfortunately Mbiti fails to explain his understanding of biblical prophets except to say that he does not know "of "prophets" in traditional [i.e. pre-colonial] societies who claim to be the prophetic mouth-piece of the Supreme God, in the manner similar to biblical or koranic prophets". (203) There is a large body of literature which supports his view that "prophets" have surfaced in Africa as a direct result of the European and Arab intrustion, and the introduction of Christianity and Islam; and there is a wealth of material on different "prophet" movements, whether they be seen as expressions of socio-political protest, or as a creative religious response, or both. (204)

The second school of thought takes issue with the idea that African prophetism is merely a reaction to exogenous experiences, and argues that it must be seen as an indigenous religious development rooted in pre-existing religious beliefs. Rigby supports this thesis by claiming that Mbiti's findings are refuted by his own evidence. (205) Mbiti gives two examples to show that the so-called African "prophets" "belong to the category of diviners, seers and mediums, and may have other religious or political functions in their societies". He maintains that although they are sometimes described as "prophets", they "do not fit into the strict meaning of that term". However, he goes on to say that these persons, "among other functions ... may perform "prophetic" duties", and that they "play the role of political leaders, diviners, ritual leaders, mediums and even legal and moral advisers to

individuals or communities". (206) Rigby therefore concludes that despite Mbiti's denials to the contrary, such religious authorities "can certainly be called "prophets" without distortion of the term, whatever other functions they may perform". He accuses Mbiti, Evans-Pritchard and others of their ilk of "European ethnocentrism"; and then uses a case study of Kiganda religion to show how his understanding of African prophetism is related to the innovative ability of African religion itself.

Rigby makes the point that "the Weberian distinction between "prophet" and "priest" frequently provides the starting point in studies of prophetic cults and movements", and that this is often supplemented with a further category of "diviners". (207) So for example, Evans-Pritchard makes a clear-cut distinction between priests and prophets in Nuer society, and argues that whereas the priest is a traditional functionary, the prophet is a recent development : a view rejected by Rigby. (208) On the other hand, while Ray distinguishes between prophets and diviners, he sees them both as traditional religious authorities and stresses that their roles are not fixed.

> Diviners are essentially the servants of society. Unlike prophets, they do not act on their own initiative, but upon the initiative of their clients. They are consultants, not leaders of men. By contrast, African prophets go directly to the people and inspire religious and political movements. Diviners and prophets alike are mediators of the divine, but prophets speak forth the divine word directly without reading it off a symbolic medium. For this reason, prophets are often sources of creative religious change. It is this directness of communication, scope of leadership, and tendency towards novelty which distinguishes the prophet from the diviner. However, these differences are not absolute. Under certain circumstances diviners and priests may develop prophetic powers and become leaders of religious and social change. (209)

Rigby follows Ray in arguing that the rigid distinctions between prophets, priests, diviners and mediums are not always applicable and are consequently of

little analytical use. He shows that "as historical situations change, individuals, offices, roles, and institutions may easily be transformed from, say, divination to prophetism and back again. Indeed, the same individuals may concurrently perform the several different functions involved". (210) He is persuasive in his reasoning that "the roots of Kiganda prophetism are deep in the nature, structure, and history of Kiganda religion", and that this applies to the other East African examples. (211) Recent studies on prophets in the Kongo, (212) and other parts of Africa, come to similar conclusions. (213)

Whilst not disputing the fact that traditional religious authorities may well have a prophetic function, particularly in times of national crisis or upheaval, and that they would most probably draw on "pre-existing religious beliefs, combining them in new patterns", (214) one cannot ignore those prophets who have undeniably risen in response to Christianity and Islam, and who may interpret the new in terms of the old as well as introducing entirely new concepts. Moreover, those who would stress the African nature of African prophetism have failed to clarify the critical differences between different types of prophecy and its different function in the process of religious change. The problem lies in the definition of the word "prophet" and Rigby's accusation of "European ethnocentrism" is totally unhelpful.

Greschat has attempted to overcome the lack of definition by classifying the material on prophets in West Africa according to two kinds of activity: preaching and healing. (215) He develops two basic categories of interpretation for application on the widest scale.

> The first of these is religious formulator, a term covering the specialists with theoretical knowledge. These manifest two basic functions. They serve either as interpreters of the new message in the interpreter's own cultural milieu, or as authors in creating new syncretisms. The larger group invested with healing powers Greschat considers to be religious operators, technicians of the sacred, who are concerned with a this-wordly Heil (health, wholeness, salvation), and who work towards this by inspired prayer-power or by secret, saving techniques. (216)

Greschat's analysis is useful up to a point but his

failure to take into account the critical concept of time means that the different trends in prophecy are not analysed in terms of their role in shaping tradition. Turner's typology of modern African religious movements is more helpful in that he classifies his material according to historical, religious and sociological categories. (217) But his primary concern is in explaining the phenomena of new movements in primal societies in relation to the Christian mission context, and he is therefore working with a necessarily restricted view of prophecy.

Rigby addresses the time factor by differentiating between "macro-time" and "micro-time". "Macro-time" is concerned with the public religion of the national shrines in Buganda and is mainly oriented towards the Golden Age in the past. "Micro-time" is concerned with the popular religion of individuals or small groups and focusses on divination and healing, with the orientation being towards the immediate past, the present and the future. The prophet is seen as combining the role of the past-oriented priest of the shrines with the future-oriented diviner or medium of Kiganda society. According to Rigby, the prophet is thus able to transcend the dualism of Kiganda religion by relating his future-orientated logic to the expectations of his people within the cultural experience of their Kiganda tradition. (218) But it is clear that such a prophet is still tied to the traditional concept of time with its limitation to the near future. Although he is able to facilitate the adaptation of the tradition to the immediate needs of contemporary socio-cultural disturbance, such as rapid urban change, the lack of a concept of extended linear time means that he cannot mediate the growth of the tradition towards ultimate fulfilment in the far distant future.

Ray sets out to show that prophetic leadership did not stem from "the introduction of Islamic and Christian notions of time and history". According to him, the African view of time did have "a genuine prophetic dimension" because divinely inspired leaders not only projected visions onto the immediate future, but "these visions sometimes carried millennial overtones". (219) There are two issues here. Insofar as Ray is saying that prophetic movements were not dependent directly on Christian or Islamic traditions but emerge naturally when the concept of linear time enters a people's experience, then we must agree with him because this will happen whenever the present social experience becomes threatened and for a moment in time some hoped-for future resolution becomes the dominant temporal focus. But the use of the

word "millennial", like "prophecy", has added to the confusion. "Millennialism" is now used of short term future political expectations, of cargo cults immediately expected, or of the long term eschatological perspective which gave the term birth. In fact millennialism is now used in the anthropological and historical literature for all apocalyptic beliefs which have to do with divine intervention in the material and historical order. But in its original context in the Hebrew-Christian tradition millennialism was used exclusively to refer to that thousand year period of preparation before the ultimate end.

If one wants to refer to divinely orchestrated discontinuities in the historical process other than at the end, apocalyptic is a better label. Situations like those to which we shall refer in which the divine together with the ancestors are expected to intervene and overcome the enemy are more apocalyptic than prophetic precisely because they look to an unnatural event, i.e. the discontinuity in historical causation. As we shall see, classical prophecy saw the divine hand at work in and interpreted the divine will from the whole historical process. This is not to deny that these apocalyptic moments cannot be the precursors of a true prophecy, but the linear world view on which the latter depends is not yet fully ingrained.

Ray contends that prophetically inspired resistance movements were not "mere backward-looking, atavistic struggles against the forces of change". He claims "they were forces of change in their own right and introduced new levels of organization and new symbols of unity and power". Even though "they failed to accomplish their immediate goals", they generally "stimulated a new historical awareness which later issued in the nationalistic consciousness of the pre-independence period". (220) With all this I would agree. I shall be arguing, however that many of the resistance movements tended to resist new devlopments and that the symbols of unity and power which were associated with their charismatic leaders were only of episodic significance, being associated with militant phases of a people's history. This distinction between an apocalyptic expectation of a divinely initiated discontinuity in the historical process and a providentially controlled history is crucial for distinguishing stages of development from Nature Religion to what we have called Secular World Affirming Religion; and in particular in this study for distinguishing between the roles of Nxele and Ntsikana. None of the previous models made this distinction of roles possible. For an

historically conscious nationalism to become a part of their people's ongoing experience it is necessary for the symbols to shift in meaning so as to accomodate the new world and this involves an ingrained sense of linear time and all the correlative factors in the process of change.

The Phenomenon of Biblical Prophecy

There is of course a large body of works on biblical prophecy; (221) but I shall again follow Cumpsty, who is perhaps closest to Ginzberg, in his understanding of the nature of prophecy and the role of the prophet in the development of a tradition. This has the added advantage of maintaining the link with his typology of religion and model of religious change. (222)

Prophecy in the biblical tradition is not a monochrome phenomenon. It includes the classical prophets of Israel with a quiet application of the tradition in which they are steeped to the contemporary situation and drawing some quite clearly logical conclusions about the present and the future and God's attitude to both, from a knowledge of the divine character distilled from the past. At the other extreme there is ecstasy in which the human personality, his background and his memories are wiped away while some possession takes place. There is also the mantic who divines through the casting of lots or necromancy, and invades the borders of magic in a form of prophecy which overtly seeks to bring about that which it prophesies. All these and more are covered in biblical prophecy.

Biblical scholars have attempted to differentiate between "true" and "false" prophets by using various divides. So for example there is the cultic or non-cultic divide, the professional or non-professional, the gregarious type of prophet functioning in a band or the solitary type, the reluctant or the willing, the prophesier of weal or of woe, and so on. But examples of the classical prophets can be found in all these categories. It does not help either to designate a true prophet as one whose prophecy is fulfilled as this raises too many problems in trying to establish means of verification. Furthermore, it is wrong to lay the emphasis on prediction because the classical prophets were more usually concerned with admonition, encouragement or instruction, than with prophesying the future.

Deuteronomy adds the criterion of loyalty to Yahweh, which means loyalty to the tradition as the prophet's hearers understood it. This shifts the focus from the person of the prophet to the tradition and so enables us to

distinguish true from false prophecy rather than true or false prophets. Cumpsty concludes that the uniqueness in Israel's prophecy is that it takes place within a tradition, a prophet speaking out of and back into a living tradition, and that there is no other quality or circumstance relating to the prophet himself, which is of primary significance.

The key event in the faith of Israel was the Exodus and "God in that tradition becomes above all else "the God who brought us out of the land of Egypt"". Cumpsty notes, "that understanding of God was constantly in interplay with and challenged by ongoing experience and each generation had to reinterpret the character of that God and the meaning of that event in terms of each new experience. Thus the tradition grew". He goes on to show that the role of the prophet is an essential element in any growing tradition although it may be fulfilled in widely differing ways even in the same tradition. Thus "the role of the prophet in Israel was different from that in most other religious traditions because the tradition itself was a consciously open ended, historically revealed and not a "once given to the ancestors" tradition. The difference had its roots in the Mosaic tradition itself, not in the prophets".

Prophecy is not essentially a mysterious thing. "It does not have to come from a recognized prophet, still less does it come from a crystal ball. It emerges out of agony rather than ecstasy. It comes out of a situation, a set of believed-in principles, and the logic by which the one is put together with the other". These criteria must be met if the prophet's words are to have authority to his hearer. He cannot bring a voice or the word of God from somewhere else and proclaim it in a situation without reference to the expectations of that tradition.

When the situation and the tradition are out of step then prophecy is, as it were, "already in the air waiting for a spokesman". Thus Israel's prophets arose in clusters to speak to the needs of the time. If the people had become too confident and had moved away from their God, then they preached the conditional covenant of Sinai - "if you keep my law you will be my people". If the people were despairing and were fast losing faith in their God, then the prophets would preach the unconditional covenant first made with Abraham - "God has promised and is faithful".

I have shown that prophecy can only take place in a community which shares a tradition. But there can be no living tradition unless there is a priest committed to presenting it to the people so that it is absorbed in

different ways from cradle to grave. He is the conserver who enshrines the tradition in creeds, confessions, liturgies and symbolic acts, preserving it from generation to generation. For prophecy to arise there must be both the priest, the conserver of truth, and the prophet, the "breaker-out" who reassesses the truth in terms of the basic principles of the tradition so as to meet the challenge of changing circumstances. The priest is concerned with keeping the status quo, the prophet is the idealist who questions the legitimacy of the traditional order. In the Old Testament there is a constant confrontation between priest and prophet but this is a necessary tension in a living tradition : "without the prophet there would be no growth of the tradition, without the priest there would be no tradition to grow". (223)

Because prophecy can only take place in a community, there is also the need of "the pragmatist" who is prepared to compromise the truth so as to ensure the continued functioning of his society. He is the secular leader of the community and in Israel's case is identified with the monarchy. The pragmatist is said to be "the one who in practical terms shapes and maintains the society and in so doing creates that which is both the entity, which the prophet addresses and whose history he interprets, and the vehicle which bears the tradition". He too is concerned with keeping the status quo and so may come into conflict with the prophet.

The tradition grows organically like a tree. It will produce different branches which will be allowed to flourish and spread if they prove fruitful, but will be pruned back if their fruit is not acceptable. New elements may be grafted on but they will survive only if there is affinity with the rootstock.

The prophet is the man who stands on the growing edge of a tradition, accepting the challenge of the new experiences and interpreting God's activity in history. In the biblical tradition,

> he is the one who recognizes that the tradition and the situation, frequently a political, economic, or social one, are out of step, and that either the situation must be conformed to the tradition or the tradition must accept the challenge of something new in the situation and grow to take account of it.

Although the priest will at first probably reject the prophet's revelation, when the new insights are eventually

accepted by the people, possibly a generation later, it is the priest who will build the prophecy into the tradition and who will preserve it for posterity, probably in writing. The priest also takes over the figure of the prophet himself as part of the tradition. The prophet on the other hand is mainly concerned about addressing his contemporaries and so prophecy is primarily an oral phenomenon.

Prophecy is not limited to the biblical era. For any society to survive as a recognizable developing entity, it will need to have "a continuing tradition, a set of shared values giving rise to reasonably common goals". Prophecy is therefore an essential component in any culture with a dynamic tradition, and the three complementary roles of prophet, priest and pragmatist are also indispensable, although they may from time to time exist in the same person. The peculiar character of a tradition in which a prophet stands will determine the character of his prophecy. His revelations will be couched in the symbolic language of his culture. But the biblical narratives show that "disclosure is above all a way of seeing", however this may be expressed. (224)

Cumpsty concludes by saying, "Any tradition which is still alive is necessarily open ended and exploring, never absolute but the best that those who share it can know at that point in time and therefore demanding their commitment". A tradition may well take a false turn but historical verification may also be the means whereby a prophet becomes a semi-mythical figure. In succeeding generations, interpretations of his prophecies are related to contemporary events, and if they are judged to have come true this adds to his mystique. As Rowley observes, "Widely differing contemporary happenings in many ages have been read back into the same texts, and interpreters have claimed with just as much, or as little, justification that they were specific prophecies of these happenings". (225) The figure of the prophet as well as his prophecies is thus conserved in the tradition and reinterpreted in succeeding generations.

In the biblical tradition the apocalyptic period comes after the classical period when faith in a divinely controlled history faltered, and many in Israel moved either to an apocalyptic future hope in radical discontinuity from presently experienced history or went the other way into the deep pessimism of the later wisdom movement exemplified by Ecclesiastes. (226) It is a feature of modern African history, however, that apocalyptic episodes have been the forerunners of a move

toward a linear time goal-oriented world view which is still far from being universally and consistently present. So whilst not disagreeing with Ray concerning the facts as he presents them, we would prefer to reserve the word "prophecy" for those movements such as Ntsikana's where the providentially ordered history of the classical prophetic world view pertains.

3.6.3. Ntsikana and Nxele as Prophets

Ntsikana and Nxelè stood in the same African tradition and yet their response to the incoming culture was quite different and they went totally different ways. If they are both called prophets then they must be seen to be as wide apart as it is possible to be within the biblical prophetic tradition.

In the Hebrew-Christian tradition the classical prophet has a place as the interpreter of history with its challenges and confirmations and the sense of development and progress. In the African tradition, no matter what many scholars say, Mbiti is right and this role of the prophet is excluded by the lack of this sense of history and that is why it is so important to identify the different types of prophecy.

The only record I have found of a pre-colonial prophecy among the Nguni relates to the predictions of Chief Bhungane of the Hlubi. He died shortly before the northern Nguni chiefdom was dispersed by Shaka in the Mfecane. (227) On his deathbed he summoned his people to his presence and said : "You see the numerous mountains by which you are surrounded. You will be scattered by strong enemies, your bones will whiten all those mountains. You will be scattered among all the nations." (228) Bhungane can be seen to be functioning in much the same way as the imboni or igogo of the Xhosa except that as chief he takes over the role of the supreme doctor. He is predicting forthcoming events of national importance in the near future like any seer and is accepted as such. This form of seer is common to many societies. The Bible makes the distinction between the classical prophet and the seers of old: "Formerly in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, he said, "Come, let us go to the seer"; for he who is now called a prophet was formerly called a seer" (I Samuel 9 : 9).

Wilson notes, "Revival movements in which pagan prophets pressed their followers to renounce witchcraft and cast away dangerous medicines have been recorded in Africa since the middle of the last century". (229) She suggests

that such movements probably existed before contact with whites, on the basis that purification from witchcraft is one of the fundamental themes of traditional religion; but provides no supporting evidence. It is significant that the recorded movements took place after contact with Europeans. Whilst not denying their African nature, it is necessary to see how their leaders developed a new role of "prophecy" in response to socio-cultural disturbance. Thus the emergence of Ntsikana and Nxele as "prophets" must be seen as a development which was precipitated by increasing socio-cultural disturbance. (230)

Like the classical prophets of Israel, Ntsikana can be seen as a wise man bringing to bear two traditions on the situation, helping them flow together. His prophecies were in fact fairly logical ones growing out of his understanding of Christianity and the impact of the changing scheme of things. In contrast, Nxele was thaumaturgical and apocalyptic. Like Zedekiah in the story of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kings 22), his prophecies are an attempt to manipulate the divine powers to the purposes of man. Ntsikana emphasized grace for change within the natural and historical order : his concern was with development rather than revolution; whereas Nxele's concern with divine intervention would constitute an historical discontinuity. Ntsikana provides a modus operandi for survival and growth as one tradition was interpenetrated by another : Nxele closes down on growth.

Their own people of course would not have called them prophets at the time. Both are functioning in the tradition. Ntsikana fulfils his ascribed role as hereditary councillor to Ngqika and Nxele achieves status as supreme doctor to Ndlambe. But one is for evolutionary change and the other is trying to bring about that which he prophesies, two very different prophets, and the people's response reflected this difference. According to Falati,

> The Ngqikas believed and disbelieved portions from both. A fair proportion of the men reluctantly and hesitatingly believed Ntsikana. But the majority in time poured forth to Nxele, and they called Ntsikana's words his great absurdities.
>
> The Ndlambes affirming that the son of Gabha was afflicted with insanity, while Ngqikas said, Ntsikana is not insane, the only thing the matter with him is that he has become a prophet of heaven. But although they said this they wavered between him and Nxele

> saying - what if Nxele should indeed raise people from the dead, and our chiefs and friends remain in their graves. Yet Ntsikana contradicts Nxele. The date of Nxele's prophecies is the present, whereas Ntsikana's prophecies are dated in the remote future. (231)

The critical difference between Ntsikana and Nxele was the element of historical discontinuity. I use the term exspectatus to describe Nxele's movement because there was the sense of "looked for, awaited, longed for" as given in its translation from Latin. To use millenarianism of all exspectatus seems to me unhelpful and deprives us of the specific use of that word. We shall see that the same sense of expectancy can be identified in the Xhosa movements following in Nxele's tradition too.

As already indicated, in terms of Cumpsty's model the Xhosa had moved from the Static to the Search Stage and were therefore relatively open to new ideas which would keep pace with new needs. However, the evidence also shows that while Ntsikana and Nxele both remained for a time in the Search Stage, their widely differing origins, experiences and expectations resulted in their moving in completely different directions in subsequent stages.

Ntsikana was able to prophecy in the Search Stage because it was a question of growth. He was still secure in his roots but his world was coming under increasing stress and he was challenged to come to terms with a rapidly changing sense of reality. He understood the threat of the incoming Mfengu and white cultures and sounded a warning. His response, far from on the one hand rejecting his own culture, or on the other simply protecting it, was to enrich and enlarge it. He was not taking a leap into someone else's culture and failing to get there. The criteria of selection he used belonged to the Xhosa tradition not the white. His prophecies clearly show that his criticism of the threat that white culture as distinct from what Christianity posed, was based on his affirmation of the Xhosa way of life rather than on Christian principles. His incorporation of new elements from Christianity, together with his reinterpretation of selected elements from Xhosa tradition, followed the same historical process of transformation and transvaluation that the Xhosa had followed in accommodating Khoisan beliefs and practices, albeit the pace of change was now greater.

Like the biblical prophets, who were standing on the growing edge of tradition but were still in relative

security, Ntsikana affirmed the action of God in the historical process. When this affirmation cannot be made then the apocalyptic stage has been reached with its radical cleavage between history and the "hoped-for future". This was the alternative path chosen by Nxele, and the large majority of his countrymen supported him because he satisfied their aspirations and offered an immediate mythology adequate to their present needs. In contrast, Ntsikana introduced an eschatology which was foreign to their thinking and compounded their feelings of insecurity in the face of change. There were still as yet few who felt the need for a new meaning in life and were ready to break away from the main body, the more so as it meant moving into the unknown where the supreme being, rather than the ancestors held sway.

In his early period, Nxele's attempts to preach like the missionaries were also within the Search Stage. He was still relatively secure in his roots but his world on the frontier was coming under increasing stress and his initial response was to try and explain and control the new by assimilating it within the Xhosa tradition. So it was that at first he sought to take over the symbols and therefore the power of the Christian God. But when he failed to gain acceptance, he swung right over to being incredibly traditional, using the traditional Xhosa symbols but incorporating the power symbols of the new tradition. However, he made no attempt to integrate the tradition with what he was receiving from the incoming culture, in complete contrast to Ntsikana. Moreover, while Ntsikana had the long historical perspective, Nxele was only concerned with the present and with everything being seen in conflict terms. He was the real apocalyptic and with his development of a thaumaturgical doctrine, he moved with his people to what Cumpsty calls the "Protective Stage", (232)

In the early parts of this stage there is a tightening of the existing behaviour pattern and then, typically, a rise of a spokesman like Nxele who seeks to maintain, proclaim and bring society into line with what would be claimed to be the old tradition but which may well include appropriate new elements such as those which he incorporated from Christianity. As things get more threatening there is a weakening of the sense of belonging derived from the socio-cultural experience and a corresponding increase in the importance of beliefs and specifically religious practices, i.e. the tradition. Cumpsty expects the tradition to grow in extent, to be more consciously held, to become more coherent within itself and

to become a criterion for inclusion in or exclusion from the group. This is well illustrated in the doctrine which Nxele developed with its related new ritual practices, and the exclusion of Ngqika from Nxele's following.

In the Protective Stage there is an increasing intolerance of those who might weaken the power of the communal body to provide a sense of belonging by their failure to conform to the general behaviour pattern, to subscribe to beliefs, or to perform specifically religious practices. Deviants are therefore exorcised and in the African context this often takes the form of a witch-hunt. New ritual patterns are also introduced which are unconnected with the obvious necessities of everyday life as a means of group identification and of bringing order into impending chaos. The Mlanjeni sticks are a later but good example of this sort of thing.

With the growing unacceptibility of contemporary experience Cumpsty expects a declining sense of immanence with an increasing sense of transcendence. This is only true of Nxele in a limited sense. There does not seem to be a point where he affirms both the now and the not yet, this world and that which transcends it, which we find in Ntsikana as he looks for progressive change toward a distant future. Nxele seems to leap straight from an intense hanging on to the tradition of the past, within the Protective Stage, to what Cumpsty calls the "Paradoxical or Irrational Stage" in which the not yet is affirmed in radical discontinuity from the present, and in which the intensity of belief is more important than what is believed in. I will return to this discussion when Nxele's exspectatus movement is examined in the next chapter.

Whilst one is concerned to show that there are possible links between the content and style of much of Ntsikana's early teaching and that of Vanderkemp, Ntsikana's particular appeal to his people stems from the fact that his conversion and ministry are seen as being independent of mission influence, Vanderkemp included. God is seen as having spoken directly to Ntsikana, the African people comparing his call with the directness of the divine revelation of Paul on the road to Damascus. (233) As Cumpsty as shown in his study of "religion as belonging" with reference to contemporary Israel, it is not so much a question of cross-cultural factors which cannot be overcome, but rather a deep-seated resentment of those on whom one is dependent for one's salvation, and on whom one lays impossible demands. (234) In the case of Ntsikana it is his direct link with God which satisfies the African Christians' need for symbols which enables them to belong

to the ultimate reality without being dependent upon others for their salvation. (235) His appeal is precisely because he seems so unrelated to Vanderkemp and is revered as one sent directly by God as a prophet to the black people. It is this that united his following from the start.

As Ntsikana's disciples came under missionary influence and grew in their knowledge of the Bible, they began to compare him with the classical prophets of Israel. Insofar as the parallels were never exact they used them to establish the uniqueness of Ntsikana as God's prophet to the black man. Nearly sixty years after Ntsikana's death, Noyi wrote,

> In our present generation there are those who say - among the prophets of old a prophet would conclude the reporting of his revelation from God with the words : "Thus says Yehovah, Lord of hosts!" Has Ntsikana ever said that? My answer is that he never did, because belief inside a person does not come out in only one way. It was a gift given him by God in his own way. (236)

Other disciples record that Ntsikana's revelations were invariably preceded by the words "I see". Instead of relating this phrase to a way of seeing which was typical of biblical disclosures, they interpreted it in the literal sense of reading his hymns and prophecies off his cloak, which was closer to some forms of Xhosa divination. But for them there was no disputing the historical verification of his prophecies during their lifetime, and this was the deciding factor in elevating him as "a real prophet of the living God". (237) As Makapela Balfour said in 1878, "he prophesied about things which would be seen later, pointing them out long before they took place and were still in darkness. Today during our time we see these things with our eyes and agree saying : "The prophet Ntsikana has said so."" (238)

NOTES - CHAPTER 3

1. Also spelt Tsikana, Sikana, Sicana, in the literature.
2. For the story of Tshawe's defeat of Cira and a discussion on Xhosa clans see Peires (1981) pp. 13-9. For information on Xhose clans and lineages see Bigalke (1969) ch. 3 ; Soga (c 1931) ch. 2.
3. T.B. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 67.
4. Falati (1895) p. 1, calls Gaba "an eminent counsellor", while Kropf, Ntsikana translation (1891) p.1, refers to him as a subchief.
5. For information on hereditary councillors see Peires (1981) pp. 31-42. See also Alberti (1807) p. 81 ; Brownlee in Maclean (1858) p. 123 ; Calderwood (1858) pp. 36, 42 ; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) pp. 352-3 ; Steedman (1835) p. 257 ; Soga (c 1931) pp. 28-30.
6. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 4.
7. Falati (1895) p. 1 ; Kropf, Ntsikana translation (1891) p. 1 ; Theal (1908) p. 272. For information on Xhosa beliefs in impundulu and other mythical beings see Hewat (1906) pp. 11-4 ; Hunter (1961) pp. 282-5 ; Laubscher (1975) pp. 151-61 ; Soga (c 1931) ch. 9.
8. Bokwe (1914) p. 4. Kropf translation (1891) p.1, claims that Gaba told Nonabe to go home as soon as he heard of her father's reputation for fear that his people "might do him harm because of his wife".
9. See Hunter (1961) pp. 308, 318 ; Wilson et al (1952) pp. 173-4.
10. "Ibali Lika-Ntsikana" in Bokwe (1914) p. 45 ; Falati (1895) p.1. There are a number of places called Qaukeni in the Eastern Province ; but iQauka is a tributary of the Keiskamma River and Ntsikana's birthplace would seem to be at Qawukeni (Qaukeni) not far from Burnshill : Kropf (1915) p. 505.
11. Bokwe (1914) p. 4. See also Cook (n.d.) p. 89.
12. For a schematic analysis of the activities of the different age groups of Xhosa males see Wilson et al (1952) pp. 109-10.
13. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 45 ; Falati (1895) p.1.
14. Alberti (1807) p.39; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) pp. 321-2. See also Peires (1981) p.20.
15. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p.45; Falati (1895) pp.1-2.
16. Gitywa (1977); W.K. Kaye, "On the Circumcision of Kafir Boys", MS 172c, Grey Collection, pp. 199-206; Soga (c 1931) ch. 12.
17. Noyi, p.64, and Z. Soga, p.54, in Bokwe (1914).
18. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 64.
19. "Reminiscences of an old Kafir", CMM III : p.292, 1880.
20. Falati (1895) p.2. See also "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 46.
21. Bokwe (1914) pp. 30-1. See also Kropf translation (1891) p. 20. Burnet Ntsikana (1902) p. 4, says that Ntsikana was of a light colour. Vimbe, in Rubusana (1906) p.7, recalls that his eyes were fearful because they were big and red. He attended Ntsikana's services with his mother as a child.
22. Bokwe (1914) pp. 31, 46, 65; Falati (1895) p.2.
23. Falati (1895) p. 2; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 9.
24. Z. Soga, p.64, and T.B. Soga, p.67, in Bokwe (1914).
25. Sundkler (1960) p. 21.
26. Bokwe (1914) pp. 5-6, 45; Kropf translation (1891) p.2.
27. According to Hunter, the Xhosa have "an aesthetic appreciation of cattle". The native cattle come in every colour and combination

of colours. She noted 57 names among the Mpondo to describe the different markings. They particularly admired a big beast (most are small), with widespreading horns, or with horns turned down and curving inwards. Each beast had its own name and its development was followed with great interest : (1961) pp. 68-70. Soga lists some of the colours and 7 terms to describe the variations in horns. He also notes the close relationship between the Xhosa and their cattle : (c 1931) pp. 385-9. See also Louw (1957).

28. For praises of cattle : Hunter (1961) p. 371.
29. The details of Ntsikana's conversion experience (vision in the cattle byre, wedding dance and washing off the red ochre) are taken from Bokwe (1914) pp. 7-13; Cumming papers, no. 438, n.d., South African Library (trans. Fr. A. Fischer and Dr. E. Weiss); Falati (1895) pp. 2-3; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 4-8 ; B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 5-6; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) pp. 9-10; Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p.65; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) pp. 3-4.
30. The Xhosa used the stiff ox-hide, inggonggo, as their only drum: Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1974) p. 106.
31. The men wore a penis sheath, iphaca, ornaments and a cloak made of animal skins, ingubo, which they discarded at will. For a description of Xhosa wedding ceremonial and festivities see Hunter (1961) ch. 4; Kropf (1915) pp. 85-6; Soga (c1931) ch. 11; Wauchope (1908) p.12.
32. imbola is the generic term for different kinds of red clay. The Xhosa traditionally smeared their whole bodies with red ochre, hence the name "abantu ababomvu" (Red people), or "amaqaba" (smeared ones). The powdered clay is smeared on first and is then covered by an application of melted fat. This gives the skin a shiny bronze appearance. The red clay was used as a cosmetic and to protect the skin from the sun and against insect bites. The ochre was obtained at the clay pits in the Bathurst district : Soga (c 1931) pp. 413-4. See also Gitywa (1971) pp. 146-55; Hunter (1961) pp. 222-3; Le Vaillant II (1790) p. 336; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p.310; Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 103-4; Steedman (1835) p. 259.
33. This section is taken from Bokwe (1914) pp. 12-3; Cumming papers, no. 438; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 8-9; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 6; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p. 4.
34. I am indebted to Peires (1981) p. 72, for translations of parts of these quotations.
35. Bokwe (1914) p. 14; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 9-10; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 6; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p.5. Schlosser (1949) p. 331, draws an analogy here with Mark 11: 2-6, arguing that Ntsikana must have heard someone preach about this and in conviction of his divine mission imitated Jesus. But the evidence indicates that it was a perfectly logical action, any comparison being quite fortuitous.
36. Bokwe (1914) p. 27; Kropf translation (1891) p.9; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.5; Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 65; MS 158c, Grey Collection, p.11.
37. Holt (1954) pp. 105-7; Kropf translation (1891) p. 3.
38. Vimbe in Bokwe (1914) p. 51; Döhne (1844) p. 59.
39. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 47.
40. Read, Narrative of the Journey, 21 May 1816, Transactions IV : p. 288.
41. Döhne (1844) p. 66.

42. Peires (1981) p. 72.
43. I am indebted to Peires for a discussion of his ideas, 12 January 1978.
44. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 65.
45. Pauw (1975) p. 79; Wauchope (1908) p. 13.
46. Kropf (1915) p. 286.
47. Hammond-Tooke in Argyle and Preston-Whyte (1978) pp. 144-7. See also Berglund (1975) pp. 230-1; Hunter (1961) pp. 247-8.
48. Kropf (1915) p. 404.
49. Ibid., p. 137. Soga says that the bride and her female attendants are required to kneel when they are unveiled for inspection by the bridegroom's party : (c 1931) p. 233.
50. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 65; Falati (1895) pp. 3-4; B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 6,8; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 10; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) pp. 5-6.
51. M.N.Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 60.
52. Dwane (1979) pp. 84, 119. He has an excellent section on the cattle kraal as the sanctuary : pp. 74-87. See also Berglund (1976) p. 112; Malan (1968) p. 35.
53. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 5.
54. Berglund (1976) pp. 110,199; Soga (c1931) p. 389.
55. Cook (n.d.) pp. 116-7; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 331. Soga (c1931) p. 389, shows the high value placed on the favourite ox in that a clan may take its name when a chief dies.
56. Berglund (1976) pp. 199-206, 246 n.12; Warner in Maclean (1858) pp. 95-6. Among the Mpondo this animal is called "the beast of the brush" (inkomo yobuluunga) or "the beast of the ancestors" (inkomo yesinyanya). The appeal to the ancestors is made by wearing hairs from the brush of the beast : Hunter (1961) pp. 235-8.
57. J. Brownlee in Thompson (1827) p. 449; Dwane (1979) pp. 57-60.
58. Nkonki (1968) p. 74; Vilakazi (1946) p. 211.
59. E.g. "Badoli the Ox" in Bourke (n.d.) pp. 15-51; "The Story of Mbulukazi" and "The Story of the Wonderful Horns" in Theal (1882) pp. 148-54, 158-60. cf. "The king's child and Ubongopa - kamagadhlela (the ox)" in Callaway (1868) pp. 221-37; "The Gqongqos and Qajana (a magical ox)" in J. Torrend, A Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages (London, 1891) pp. 305-9; "The Guardian Ox" in Werner (1933) pp. 210-1.
60. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 5. See also Bokwe (1914) p. 29.
61. W. G. Bennie, "Ciskei and Southern Transkei Tribes" in A.M. Duggan-Cronin, The Bantu Tribes of South Africa vol. 3 sect. 1 (Cambridge, 1939) p. 27; Fleming (1853) p. 99; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 331; W. Paterson, A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria in the Years 1787, 8 and 9 (London, 1879) p. 94; Theal (1882) p. 15.
62. S.E.K. Mqhayi, Ityala lamawela (Lovedale, 1914) p. 31.
63. McKay (1911) pp. 52-3.
64. For a recent comprehensive study on ancestors see Ancestor Religion in Southern Africa edited by H. Kuckertz (Lumko Missiological Institute, 1981).
65. Berglund (1975) p. 309; Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 346-8; Taylor (1963) pp. 127-36.
66. E.g. Berglund (1975) pp. 136-40; Callaway (1870) pp. 228 et seq; De Jager and Gitywa (1963) ; Hirst (1983) ; Kaye, "Kafir Doctors", MS 172c, Grey Collection; Hunter (1961) pp. 320-2; Warner's notes in Maclean (1858) p. 80; Soga (c1931) pp. 156-9.
67. Soga (c1931) pp. 156-9. A distinction can be drawn between

dreams, which take place during sleep, and visions, which occur while the recipient is awake. But this does not seem to be significant for the calling of a diviner as it is in Zionist religious experience : Kiernan (1982- Africa forthcoming). See also S.R. Charsley, "Dreams in an Independent African Church", Africa 43 (3) : pp. 244-57, 1973.

68. The rainbow in Zulu thought-patterns is associated with the heavenly princess and her cult : Berglund (1975) pp. 57, 65-7, 69-70.
69. See Fawcett (1970) p. 139.
70. Callaway describes this phenomenon as "a state in which a man becomes slightly insensible. He is awake, but ... sees things, which he would not see if he were not in a state of ecstasy" : (1870) p. 232.
71. The sacred numbers of the Jews were 3,7 and 12, and their multiples : J. Barzun and H.F. Graff, The Modern Researcher (rev. ed., New York, 1970) p. 118.
72. Fleming (1853) p. 113.
73. Berglund (1975) pp. 103-4.
74. Dwane (1979) p. 107; Hunter (1961) pp. 321-3; Soga (c1931) p. 163.
75. Qangule (1973) p. 1.
76. Dwane (1979) pp. 34-5; Gitywa (1977) ; Soga (c1931) p. 257.
77. Alberti (1807) p. 96; Gluckman (1937) pp. 123-5; W. Gqoba, "The Native Tribes. Their Laws, Customs and Beliefs", Christian Express XV (181) : p. 110; Kay (1833) p. 203; Soga (c1931) pp. 152, 320; Warner in Maclean (1858) p. 103.
78. Oosthuizen (1968) p. 168.
79. Berglund (1975) pp. 140-50; Hewat (1906) p. 39; Wilson et al (1952) p. 191. For Shona beliefs see A. Kriel, An African Horizon. Ideals in Shona lore and literature (Cape Town, 1971) pp. 140-1.
80. Hirst (1980) ; Soga (c1931) p. 167.
81. Jordan (1973) pp. 20, 43-4; Peires (1976) p. 129.
82. M.N. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 58.
83. Personal communication, Mr. M. Lamla, Lumko, 27 January 1981. Malan (1968) p. 28, relates that many years ago Gaba was called to the river where he became a river spirit. All his lineage descendants were subsequently thought to go and live in the rivers after their death. The clan praise was : "Aa! Gaba! Ngqosini! Umntu omlambo!" (Be greeted, Gaba! Ngqosini! Man of the river!"
84. Hammond-Tooke (1974) p. 216; Hunter (1961) p. 174; Theal (1910) p. 249.
85. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 10.
86. Balfour, p. 58, Noyi, p.65, and "Ibali", pp. 49-50, in Bokwe (1914); Cumming papers, n. 438.
87. Falati (1895) p. 3; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 6,8; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 6; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 9.
88. Sundkler (1961) pp. 242-7.
89. Ibid., pp. 247-9. For a comprehensive discussion on Glossolalia see D.Christie-Murray ,Voices from the Gods (London, 1978).
90. Christie-Murray (1978) p. 7; Sundkler (1961) p. 249.
91. Bokwe (1914) p. 29.
92. Kropf (1915) p. 398. See also Davis (1872) p. 206.
93. Soga (c1931) pp. 418-9.
94. The following discussion is based on L. Salzman, "Types of Religious Conversion", Pastoral Psychology, p. 8-21, September

1966.

95. Fawcett (1970) p. 170, says that the basic religious experience has three moments:
(i) The presence of an existential need.
(ii) The moment of disclosure or perception itself.
(iii) The embodiment of the experience in symbolic form.
Buddha's enlightenment is given as a classic example of this scheme.
96. Wauchope (1908) p. 37.
97. Kaye, MS 172c, Grey Collection. See also Kropf translation (1891) p. 10.
98. Callaway (1870) pp. 68-9.
99. I Kings 8 : 22-54.
100. Davis (1872) p. 159; Kropf (1915) p. 492; Interview with Prof. H.W. Pahl, Director of the Xhosa Dictionary Project, and H. Nabe, Dean of Students, University of Fort Hare, 19 October 1978.
101. Interpretation of P.J. Oosthuysen, University of Stellenbosch, 1976.
102. Kropf (1915) p. 492.
103. Berglund (1976) p. 32; Pauw (1975) p. 132.
104. Kropf (1915) p. 319.
105. Kaye, MS 172c.
106. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 46; Cumming papers, No. 438.
107. Bokwe (1914) p. 15.
108. Kropf (1915) p. 9.
109. Wilson (1971) p. 39. See also "Sin and Related Terms", Christian Express, pp. 71-2, May 1911.
110. Ngubane (1977) ch. 5; Taylor (1963) ch. 12; Wilson (1971) pp. 37-9.
111. Douglas (1966) pp. 35, 113 et seq.
112. Kropf (1915) p. 64; Soga (c1931) ch. 18.
113. Cf. Joshua 7 for the story of Achan and a zymotic understanding of sin.
114. Wilson (1971) p. 39.
115. Kropf notes that formerly umbulo was limited in meaning to incest, but later came to be extended to almost all impurity : (1915) p. 47.
116. Soga (c1931) p. 62. See also Brownlee, p. 115, and Warner, p.62, in Maclean (1858) ; Theal (1910) pp. 259-60; M. Wilson, "The Mpondo and Mpondomise" in Duggan-Cronin v.3, sect. 2 (1949) p. 10.
117. Kaye, MS 172c.
118. Döhne (1844) p. 62; Kropf translation (1891) p. 4.
119. Cumming papers, no. 438; Falati (1891) p. 10; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 11; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935).
120. "Ibali", p. 49, and Z. Soga, p. 55, in Bokwe (1914) ; Robert Balfour Noyi and Charles Henry Matshaya quoted in Cumming papers, no. 438; Döhne (1844) p. 62; Kropf translation (1891) p. 11.
121. Kropf (1915) p. 182.
122. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) pp. 10-11.
123. Vanderkemp, Transactions I : p. 426.
124. Cumming papers, no. 438.
125. Falati (1895) p. 6. For other versions see Noyi, p.65, and Z. Soga, p. 53 in Bokwe (1914); B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 8; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p. 4.
126. Cumming papers, no. 438; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 8; Kaye, MS 172c.
127. Bokwe, p.15, and Noyi, p. 65, in Bokwe (1914) ; Kropf

translation (1891) p. 12.

128. Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 53; Kropf translation (1891) p. 12. The messengers were Peyi and Kupa.

129. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 8. Ganya's brothers were Raziya and Nkunkuti.

130. Vimbe, p.51, and Z. Soga, p.54, in Bokwe (1914). Noyi, p.64, in Bokwe says that Ntsikana was at Nontlutu, the other side of Ncwenxa. Wauchope (1908) p. 25, records that Thwatwa was near Lushington, just above Seymour. Kropf, translation (1891) p. 19, notes that the place was called Petersberg or Liefeldt's station, which was started there in 1857.

131. Bokwe (1914) p. 15.

132. This section is based on Bokwe, pp. 17,23, Vimbe, p.51, and Noyi, p. 66, in Bokwe (1914); MS 158c, Grey Collection; Kropf translation (1891) p. 19; B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 6-8.

133. S.W. Nkuhlu, "The Land of the People Once Living" in The Making of a Servant and other Poems, translated by R. Kavanagh and Z.S. Qangule (Johannesburg, 1974) p. 4. Theal (1910) pp. 272-3, notes that a tree was sometimes left standing at a kraal so that men could sit in its shade during the heat of the day. But all other trees in the neighbourhood were generally cut down for fuel and not replaced.

134. Berglund (1976) pp. 44-6. The communal ritual, umtendeleko, of the Thembu which takes place on hill tops does not seem to be associated with stone kneeling-places : Laubscher (1937) pp. 106-9. But a stone or tree invariably marks the spot on a high hill to which the Xhosa ascend to call on Qamata for rain.

135. M. Posnansky, "Archaeology, Ritual and Religion" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) p. 37.

136. Intsimbi means iron or an article made of iron but the name is also given to a bell as the first church bells were hoops or pieces of iron : Kropf (1915) p. 430.

137. The bell-stones are found on a hill above the coloured settlement of Tambookiesvlei. A field trip was made to locate the first bell-stone on 17 July 1979. James Loots, a relation of Gabriel Loots, the headman of Tambookiesvlei, guided us to the spot. The bell-stone was struck all round the edge as well as in the inner parts to get the different notes. Combinations of three tones were obtained, not pure notes. A return visit was made on 15 September 1984 when we were shown another bell-stone, a short distance below the first one. Recordings were made of the different sounds on both occasions by the Rev. Fr. D.J. Dargie of the Music Department, Lumko Institute, Lady Frere, Transkei.

138. Cf. the rock gongs in Nigeria which have also been described as bells : B. Fagg, "The Discovery of Multiple Rock Gongs in Nigeria" in African Music Society Journal, I (3) : p.6-9, 1956.

139. Kropf (1915) p. 135.

140. Ibid., p. 296.

141. Alberti (1807) pp. 29-31; Alexander (1837) p. 386; Le Vaillant II (1790) pp. 337-9; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 336; Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 440. When blankets replaced the animal skin cloak, red ochre was beaten into them so giving rise to the name red-blanket people.

142. Gitywa (1971) pp. 111-6; Soga (c1931) pp. 410-1.

143. Balfour, P. 58, and Noyi, p. 64, in Bokwe (1914).

144. Falati (1895) p. 10; B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 6-7; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 9.

145. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 66.

146. Bokwe (1914) pp. 18, 23-25; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 7; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p. 4. Bokwe's outdated orthography is used for historical reasons.
147. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 59. See also Z. Soga, p. 54, and Noyi, p.65.
148. "Ibali", p. 46, Vimbe, pp. 51-2, Noyi, p. 65, in Bokwe (1914); Falati (1895) pp. 10-12; Kropf translation (1891) p. 20; Kaye, MS 172c. For a good discussion on African world view and morality see Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 359-63.
149. Kropf translation (1891) p. 20.
150. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 2.
151. Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 54.
152. Kropf translation (1891) pp. 13, 27.
153. The imvaba was made of either goat or sheep skin or the hide of a small calf : Kropf (1915) p. 450; J. McLaren, "Arts and Crafts of the Xosas, a Study Based on Philology", S.A. Journal of Science 15 : p. 448, 1918; Steedman (1835) p. 263. See also intsuba, the skin bag for holding amasi : Kropf (1915) p. 431.
154. Kropf (1915) p. 434. See also imbenga, p. 31, and ukusengela, p. 383.
155. For a description of the making of a milk-basket and its usage see Alberti (1807) p. 22; J.E. Alexander, Narrative of a Voyage of Observation among the colonies of Western Africa ... and of a Campaign in Kaffir-land ... in 1835 II (2 vols., London, 1837) pp. 393-4; Barrow I (1801) p. 170; Fleming (1853) pp. 108-9; Gitywa (1971) p. 108; Kay (1833) p. 126; Paterson (1789) p. 91; Soga (c 1931) p. 406.
156. A comparable image is found in the praise-song of Sarhili (Kreli) where he is called "the skin bag with legs in which he hid Pato and Maqoma from the English during the War of the Axe" : McLaren (1918) p. 448.
157. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 426.
158. J. McLaren, A New Concise Xhosa - English Dictionary (1915, revised ed. 1963, Cape Town) p. 176. On p. 45, he also notes that umginwa, which means a cow refusing to be milked, is used for a man refusing the gospel, a heathen.
159. T. Soga in Chalmers (1877) pp. 318-9.
160. Bokwe (1914) p. 16.
161. Hirst (1980); Kaye, "Kafir Doctors", MS 172c.
162. For further information on Soga's lineage see Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p. 8; and J.H. Soga (c 1931) p. 80. The Jwara clan had hived off as the Right Hand House of the Xhosa paramount, Nkosiyamntu, some 8 or 9 generations back.
163. This section is taken from Bokwe, pp. 15-16, "Ibali", p. 48, Z. Soga, pp. 53-4, Balfour, p. 60, and Noyi, p. 65, in Bokwe (1914); Cumming papers, no. 438; Kropf translation (1891) p.11; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 8.
164. Z. Soga, pp. 54-5, and Balfour, p. 60, in Bokwe (1914).
165. Ibid.
166. Cumming papers, no. 438.
167. This was said by a Xhosa chief to the missionary John Chalmers, at Henderson mission station in 1869, quoted in Williams (1978) p. 126.
168. B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 8-9. See also interview with the praise-poet A.M.S. Sityana, Alice, 19 July 1979.
169. Nxele would only see Ngqika after he had given him a large gift of cattle; and then would tell him no "news" except to give up adultery, witchcraft and bloodshed.

170. Döhne (1844) pp. 63-4; Kropf (1891) p. 11. Joseph Williams records that when he visited Ngqika in April 1817, he found him suffering from severe inflammation of both eyes : Williams's journal, 18 April 1817, quoted in Philip (1828) pp. 169-70.
171. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 63.
172. Cumming papers, no. 438.
173. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 10. The other sources of this tradition are almost identical in content : Bokwe, pp. 16-17, Z. Soga, p.56, M. Balfour, p.61, in Bokwe (1914); Falati (1895) pp. 4 and 11; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 13-14; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 10.
174. Alberti (1807) pp. 12, 55-6; Steedman (1835) p. 254.
175. For the growth of the Cape's wool industry see T. Kirk, "The Cape economy and the expropriation of the Kat River Settlement, 1846-53" in Marks and Atmore (1980) pp. 227-8.
176. S.M.E. Bengu, Chasing Gods Not Our Own (Pietermaritzburg, 1975) pp. 126-7.
177. C. Ntsikeni, "Book, Button and Bantu" in Signs of the Times (special Africa edition, n.d.) p. 11.
178. Ibid. For a discussion on African attitudes to money, and its uses and abuses, see Bengu (1975) pp. 83-8.
179. Sobhuza 1 ruled the Swazi kingdom from 1815 to 1839 : H. Kuper, "Colour, categories and colonialism : the Swazi case" in Colonialism in Africa : 1870-1960 III, edited by V. Turner (Cambridge, 1971) p. 300. Prophecies about the coming of the white man are recorded among the Mantatees : Backhouse (1844) pp. 399-400; and the Basuto : Casalis (1861) pp. 286-8; D.F. Ellenberger, History of the Basuto (New York, 1912) ch. X.
180. Quoted from the "Discussion between the Christian (World-to-come) and the Pagan (Present-World)" by W.W. Gqoba in Jordan (1973) p. 65.
181. For the ritual importance of beer see Hammond-Tooke (1974) pp. 103, 346, 352-3; Hunter (1961) pp. 253-6.
182. Kuckertz (1983).
183. Bokwe (1914) p. 9; T.B. Soga (1936) p. 146.
184. Wauchope (1908) p. 21. See also Bryant (1949) p. 279. For the brewing of honey beer by Khoi see Hahn (1896) quoted in Schapera (1933) p. 176 n. 5.
185. Theal, Records II (1897-1905) p. 293.
186. Moodie (1838-41) pp. 417-8. See also Grevenbroek (1695) in Schapera (1933) p. 181.
187. Barrow quoted in Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 335; Campbell (1815) p. 370.
188. Alberti (1807) p. 24; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 335; Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp. 438, 451. Birds' nests were used as a sieve for straining the beer.
189. Bryant (1949) pp. 274-80; Mills (1975) p. 146 et seq; Personal communication, Prof. M. Wilson, 3 Dec. 1978.
190. Bokwe (1914) pp. 9-10. See also Bennie, quoting Tiyo Soga, (1935) pp. 36-9; oral evidence in Moyer (1976) p. 130.
191. Interview with Dr. Z.S. Qangule, Fort Hare, 24 November 1978.
192. Brownlee in Thompson (1827) p. 453; Steedman (1835) p. 264; Alexander (1837) p. 394; Holden (1866) pp. 278-9.
193. Alberti (1807) p. 25.
194. Stretch diary, A 378C, Cape Archives.
195. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p. 395.
196. E.g. Col. Collins' report, 1809, in Moodie (1838-41) p. 46; Rose (1829) p. 95; Steedman (1835) p. 73.

197. Shaw, 1827, in Hammond-Tooke (1972) pp. 72, 74. Other chiefs were also becoming addicted to liquor and they blamed the whites for teaching the Xhosa to drink : Backhouse (1844) p. 221; Rose (1829) p. 88.
198. Jordan (1973) pp. 62-5. See also Bokwe (1914) pp. 9-10.
199. Kropf (1915) p. 371. J.H. Soga (c1931) gives a detailed account of the preparation of both utywala and amarewu, pp. 399-403.
200. Burridge (1969) pp. 11-12.
201. Mbiti (1969) pp. 190-1. See also Mbiti (1971) ch. 2.
202. Ibid., pp. 23-4. See also Shorter (1975) p. 121.
203. Ibid., p. 191.
204. E.g. Baëta (1962); Balandier (1970); Banton (1963); D. Emmet, "Prophets and their Societies", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 86 (1) : pp. 13-23, 1956; Evans-Pritchard (1956); Kastfelt (1976); Köbben (1960); Ndiokwere (1981); Sundkler (1961); Turner (1979); West (1975).
205. P. Rigby, "Prophets, Diviners, and Prophetism : the Recent History of Kiganda Religion", Journal of Anthropological Research 31 : pp. 118-9, 1975.
206. Mbiti (1969) pp. 190-1.
207. Rigby (1975) p. 117.
208. Evans-Pritchard (1956) ch. 12. See also Hodgkin (1958) ch. 3.
209. Ray (1976) pp. 110-1.
210. Rigby (1975) p. 117. See also J.M. Janzen, The Quest for Therapy in Lower Zaire (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978) p. 50.
211. Ibid., pp. 133 et seq. See also J. Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya. The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu (London, 1938) pp. 41, 305; R.G. Willis, "Kaswa : Oral Tradition of a Fipa Prophet",Africa 40 (3) : pp. 248-55, 1970.
212. Doutreloux (1965) pp. 224-39. Janzen (1974) p. 27, observes that "whenever modern Bakongo feel themselves estranged from the original source of power, so that ritual enactments and medicines and purifications cease to be effective, the role of prophet is vacant and waiting to be filled. When the prophet appeárs, his attributes include the gnostic use of language. But the structure and thought that leads to the prophetic rite and the gnostic text is not peculiar to overtly religious contexts".
213. Bond et al (1979); Horton (1975); Ranger and Kimambo (1972).
214. G.C.K. Gwassa, "Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) p. 202.
215. Greschat (1974).
216. Review by P.R. McKenzie in Journal of Religion in Africa VIII (2) : pp. 79-80, 1977.
217. Turner (1979) p.103.
218. Rigby (1975) pp. 130-3.
219. Ray (1976) pp. 41, 155.
220. Ibid., p. 155.
221. Works which I have consulted include Anderson (1967); J. Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing (London, 1956) and A History of Israel (2nd ed., London, 1972); R.P. Carroll, When Prophecy Failed (London, 1979); G. Ginzberg, "Priest and Prophet" in Selected Essays (Philadelphia, 1912); A.J. Heschel, The Prophets II (2 vols., New York, 1962); H.H. Rowley, Men of God. Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy (London, 1963); G. von Rad, The Message of the Prophets (London, 1968).
222. I am indebted to Professor J.S. Cumpsty for lecture notes, 1980.
223. The dynamics in the relationship between priest and prophet are

well described in Rowley (c 1945) ch. 7, "The Rise of Judaism". See also Von Rad (1968) ch. 2.

224. Fawcett (1970) p. 176.

225. Rowley (c 1945) p. 94.

226. For a fuller account of this see J.S. Cumpsty "A "religions" approach to the development of the Biblical tradition", Religion in Southern Africa 3(2), July 1982.

227. Chief Bhungane died in the early 1810s. For further information see A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Natal and Zululand (London, 1929) pp. 87, 148-9.

228. Statement by Gwija, "a Fengo living at the Fengo Location at Graham's Town, who is between seventy and eighty years of age", as related in a letter from G. Cyrus, Superintendent to R. Graham, Civil Commissioner, Albany, 10 January 1857, MS 157f, Grey Collection. See also "A Story of Native Wars" by an Aged Fingo, Cape Monthly Magazine n.s. 14 : p.249, 1877.

229. Wilson (1971) p. 43.

230. Kellerman (1964) sees the Bantu prophetic movement in South Africa as an acculturation phenomenon and maintains that most are of nationalistic nature, or at least of strong anti-western orientation. But again this view of prophetism tells us nothing about the different sorts of prophets. For Nxele and Ntsikana see pp. 137-46.

231. Falati (1895) p. 6.

232. Cumpsty (1980) pp. 65-6.

233. E.g. Interview with the Revd. C.C.M.D. Hoyana, Organizing Secretary of the St Ntsikana Memorial Association, East London, 5 August 1978.

234. Cumpsty draws our attention not only to the resentment of dependence in one's logic of religious belonging as it is manifested in anti-semitism, but also to the significance of the Arthurian myths to the British and to John Bunyan's Prester John and its relation to the Ethiopian movement in South Africa : "A Year and a War Later : Some Lessons in "Religion as Belonging" drawn from Contemporary Israel",Religion in Southern Africa 5 (2) : pp. 29-54, July 1984.

235. For a discussion on the influence of world view on the communication of the Christian message see F. Dierks, "Communication and World-View", Missionalia 11 (2) : pp. 43-56, August 1983.

236. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 66.

237. Kropf translation (1891) p. 18.

238. M.N. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 61.

/

4. THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER : RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL

In this chapter I will be tracing briefly the historical developments in Xhosaland between 1816 and 1820 so as to show the influences at work in the shaping of Ntsikana's ministry. The arrival of Joseph Williams in mid-July 1816 to establish a mission station on the Kat River saw the start of regular missionary work among the Xhosa. This provided the impetus for Ntsikana's move to full Christian discipleship as well as initiating the beginnings of a mission community who were separated out from the corporate body with all the attendant religious, social and political consequences.

This period also saw an escalation in the power struggle between competing chiefs among the western Xhosa, and the thaumaturgical response of Nxele in trying to challenge the white take-over as the British forces sought to take advantage of the dynastic feud to direct the balance of power in their favour. It was in this context that Ntsikana banded his followers together into a group which became identified as an indigenous Christian community who lived out their faith by submitting to the will of God.

4.1 JOSEPH WILLIAMS AND THE KAT RIVER MISSION : 1816-1818

4.1.1 The Establishment of the Mission

In contrast to Vanderkemp, Joseph Williams had little formal education and his letters are evidence of his poor spelling and failure to master the rudiments of English grammar. He was a Londoner, and a carpenter by trade. Although he received some missionary training by the L.M.S. in England, he did not meet the qualifications for ordination before being sent to the Cape early in 1815. A year later his ordination at Bethelsdorp shortly before setting out on his mission to the Xhosa was a matter of expediency so that he could take charge of the Bethelsdorp people who accompanied him, and baptize converts. Nonetheless, he was by all accounts a deeply spiritual man and embarked on the establishment of the first permanent mission among the Xhosa with amazing zeal. (1)

Williams was accompanied by his wife and infant son, Dyani Tshatshu as interpreter, with his newly married Khoi wife and niece, and six "Hottentot" men with their families. The missionary had to face insurmountable difficulties from the start. Not only were there the

physical hardships and dangers of a strange environment, but the party met with considerable antagonism from the white frontiersmen they met on their way. The Boers and British officers castigated the Xhosa as thieves and murderers, and maintained "that nothing but powder and ball could do to bring such savages to their senses". (2) Far from aiding Williams, the Boers would not even sell him provisions. A more serious handicap still was his position as unpaid government agent. He had been granted permission to found the mission only provided he kept the authorities informed of the goings on among the Xhosa. His role was therefore always suspect to them.

The site for the station had been chosen by Read and Williams on their exploratory tour, and was in a fertile valley with forests close by. It was about fifteen miles distant from Ngqika's Great Place but there was a substantial population of Xhosa and "Gonaqua" scattered along the banks of the river. (3) Within three days of their coming they were joined by ten Xhosa families. Spurred on by this support Williams lost no time in getting the mission under way. Here for the first time was the model of European evangelization which, though followed by later missionaries with greater elaboration, yet marked the planting of "Christianity and civilization" among the Xhosa. This was in stark contrast to Ntsikana's method of establishing a base within his society.

Williams's first step was to build a house of rushes and to clear and plant a garden. On the sixth day after his arrival he opened a school and began teaching the alphabet. There were more than fifty children and adults at the start and their number soon doubled in size. Services were held twice daily during the week, at sunrise and after sunset, while the people assembled four times on a Sunday for worship. (4) Evangelization, education and the gospel of work went hand in hand and Williams's energy knew no bounds.

The L.M.S. policy required that the Kat River station should be self-supporting from the start but the difficulties which Williams encountered were legion. Not the least was the drought which frustrated his early efforts at farming. Undaunted he spent the next year constructing a dam, largely unaided, by redirecting the course of the river so that he could lead water to his cornfield and garden. There were physical dangers too. Relations between Ngqika and Ndlambe had deteriorated to such an extent that the country was in a constant state of alarm. But although Mrs Williams was terrified by the visit of a party of naked Ngqika warriors, armed for

hunting, they were merely curious to see the strangers in their midst. The missionaries were never molested nor was their work ever interfered with in any way. Thieving was the only problem and the stolen goods were recovered after complaints to Ngqika. Williams, however, had to have a finger amputated, which he injured while rolling large rocks during his dam building.

The language-barrier was one of the main difficulties. Williams made slow progress in mastering Xhosa and continued to rely heavily on Tshatshu as interpreter. To make matters worse, a number of the Bethelsdorp people soon returned to the Colony. Nonetheless, at the end of the first year Williams reported that there were one hundred and thirty-eight men, women and children living at the station. There was also a steady stream of visitors, Ntsikana included. About one hundred people attended Sunday worship, with slightly fewer on weekdays. Again about one hundred and fifty had learned the alphabet, with a dozen being able to spell words of two syllables. But the medium was Dutch and, although nearly all had learnt a Dutch hymn, and Tshatshu preached in Xhosa on Sunday evenings, the worship of the Xhosa-speaking people was severely restricted. Mrs Williams noted with satisfaction that not a word was heard from them during divine service, nor a smile seen ; but this was hardly evidence of active participation. She was given charge of the girls and taught a number of them to sew dresses and weave bonnets from split rushes. She expressed great pleasure in her new life. (5)

4.1.2 The Influence of Williams's Ministry

Donovan Williams makes the important point that Joseph Williams's flock was mainly Khoi or of Khoi extraction. The Bethelsdorp party were all Khoi except for Tshatshu, and he was more Khoi than Xhosa. (6) The "Gonaqua" had originally been the strongest Khoi clan but a large section of them had merged with a Xhosa group towards the end of the seventeenth century to form the Gqunukhwebe, and both Khoi groups were present in the Kat River area.

The Khoi chiefdoms had been caught between the eastward expansion of the Boer frontiersmen and the westward expansion of the Xhosa, and had been largely broken up and dispersed. Although many of them had either been absorbed by the Xhosa or were at least living among them, many others had been taken into service by the Boers and could speak a little Dutch. These people had links in

both European and Xhosa society, on both sides of the border, and lacked the social cohesion of the Xhosa proper. Is is not surprising therefore that as a result of this intense socio-cultural disturbance they were among the first to attach themselves to the missionaries. Moreover, in their role as interpreters, numbers of them played a critical part in communicating the gospel to the Xhosa. Joseph Williams and his wife refer to "Caffers" at their mission but few of the residents were Xhosa. (7)

Williams impressed his hearers as a powerful preacher and a man of prayer. As one of them told Dr Philip : "when he lifted up his hands, every man saw that he had hold of heaven, and brought it upon earth". On one occasion Ngqika was so overcome with emotion that he retired to the bush to weep and pray. (8) Undoubtedly the power of "the word" still continued to be linked to the apparently superior power of the white man's God, hence the fear and the attraction. The Xhosa called Williams Sodyoyi (9) and Velidyam, the last title being an attempt to pronounce his surname. (10) The station was called Sihota.

Williams followed Vanderkemp, and Read, as being an Evangelical and preaching a gospel which emphasized personal salvation. At the same time he was more practical than Vanderkemp in that he actively sought to change the lifestyle of his station people, and this had economic as well as social consequences. He attempted to introduce new forms of building by erecting a proper house for himself and a schoolroom which could also serve as a place of worship, and new methods of farming by enclosing lands, ploughing the soil, constructing a dam, laying out an irrigation scheme and experimenting with a variety of crops and vegetables. He was critical of the customary body decorations using red ochre and encouraged the wearing of European dress. Social practices such as lobola and the ritual celebration of the ancestor cult also came under attack ; and he roundly condemned witchcraft and the apparent disregard for the value of human life. Ngqika was remonstrated with for killing suspected witches who were "smelt out" by "a prophetess" for causing his illness and for withholding rain. In addition, Williams introduced radical new concepts such as the division of time and the ethic of work. (11)

Some of Williams's congregation tried earnestly to follow his teaching, but not even those of Khoi heritage were found ready for baptism. The missionary's requirements for conversion called for an uncompromising commitment to the new cultural mores as well as to the new belief system. This could not be achieved without severing

social ties and settling at the station. The testimony of Matshaya (baptized Charles Henry) well illustrates the cost of such a move to a Xhosa. (12)

Matshaya was born at Gwali and was in his boyhood at the time of Vanderkemp. He moved a number of times with the Ndlambe, to the Zuurveld and back, and came under Nxele's influence during his early period, before settling in Ngqika's territory at the Kat River. He recalls the coming of Williams :

> The Sabbath was made known, and we were called to attend the worship of God. At that time I knew nothing of the Word, and was unwilling to enter the church. By listening to the Word a struggle commenced within me, and I felt as if I had two hearts, the one loving the Word, and the other hating it. (13) After I began to attend to the Word, I became sorry for my friends, who were living in the pleasures of the world, and who did not see the danger to which they were exposed. I saw that it was desirable for me to go and remain constantly at the missionary's station, but my connections advised me not to go thither, and urged me to leave off attending to the gospel.

Matshaya's friends tried to dissuade him by warning that Ngqika would kill him and take his cattle. He countered by saying that he was prepared to die for the word of God, and that anyhow the almighty power of God was greater than any earthly ruler. His wife was also against his going and remained behind. He visited his kraal soon afterwards, and held worship there, but his friends refused to attend saying that he was mad. His wife, however, became reconciled to the idea and accompanied him back to the station with his children. He had only just sowed his land when Williams died.

After sixteen months at Kat River, Williams reported that although the station residents had not increased in number, they appeared to have gained in attachment to the word of God and persevered in attending worship and in praying. But he did not yet consider their increase in knowledge sufficiently visible. (14) He was so busy in trying to wrest a living off the land that it is remarkable that he still found time to teach his people. He begged for assistance and John Brownlee was in fact waiting for government permission to enter Xhosaland, but this was only

granted after his death.

It seems likely that Williams considered literacy a requirement for baptism and this may well reflect his own struggle to be accepted by the L.M.S.. The oral tradition recorded by Burnet Ntsikana relates that after Williams had made a short enquiry concerning Ntsikana's spiritual experience, the missionary confided that he was sent by God. But as we have noted, Ntsikana refused baptism because he had already been baptized in his own way. When Williams wanted to teach him, Ntsikana said,

> He had already been taught, although not the education Mr. Williams knew of. Mr. Williams then gave him a slate and pencil to test him if he could write ; but when he touched the slate with the pencil it broke into two. "I told you," he said "that this is not what I have been taught. Go and teach your fellowmen, I will teach my countrymen". (15)

This is one example of how Ntsikana distinguished between the message and the messenger. He saw the threat that white culture as distinct from Christianity posed and opted for remaining among his people so as to bring about a transformation that went deeper than the trappings of western civilization.

The fear of being punished by Ngqika for stepping out of line was no idle threat as is illustrated by another story related by Ntsikana's great grandson. Ngqika and his party went hunting one day and on their way home decided to put Ntsikana to death. But before they reached his hut a heavy shower of rain forced them to make straight for home. The next day Ngqika went to see Ntsikana, weeping with remorse at his wicked intentions. Ntsikana, however, told the chief that he had known about it before he came, and that he greatly desired him to accept the word of God. (16)

4.1.3 The Agonies of a Government Agent

Ngqika was initially very friendly towards Williams. During 1817 there are numerous references to their visiting one another. (17) The chief had need of a channel of communication with the government, while the missionary could make little headway without his support. It seems too that Ngqika had a genuine interest in learning more about the white man's religion and was sufficiently

responsive for his people to feel threatened. (18) His councillors are said to have reminded him of his position as chief and warned that by "receiving the word he was losing his honour". (19) Williams records that Ndlambe was so angry with him for defiling Ngqika with his doctrine that he threatened to murder all those residing at the station and take their cattle so as to put a stop to the work of the mission. (20) Nonetheless, despite Ngqika's outward interest in Christianity, traditional beliefs still held sway. In April 1817 Williams reported that the chief held a runaway slave responsible for a recurrence of his eye inflammation by poisoning him. (21) And as 1817 wore on, it became increasingly clear to Ngqika that the political value of the missionary's role had to be weighed against his threat to the chief's authority.

Williams was in an inviduous position as he tried to satisfy his conflicting roles of missionary and government agent. On the one hand he had to gain Ngqika's confidence in a climate of suspicion and distrust. This was fanned by reports such as that supposedly circulated by the Boers in November 1816 which accused Williams of having been given government permission to betray the Xhosa to the English. (22) On the other hand, the colonial authorities would only countenance his ministry provided that he also acted as informer about stolen cattle and the machinations of the chiefs. When he refused to keep up a regular correspondence on the grounds that he had no secular authority and that it would endanger his position, he was vilified for his lack of co-operation.

Williams had a thankless task and his writings reflect his suffering as he was buffeted by the contradictory demands of chief and government as their go-between. In March 1817, for example, he was made entirely responsible for seeing that Ngqika attended the conference with Governor Somerset at Kat River. It took endless patience, prompted by persistent government pressure, to overcome the chief's fear of betrayal. At the conference itself, Ngqika voiced his suspicions of Williams's activities by asking why he had been sent to Xhosaland, who had sent him, and how should the chief understand "the word". The colonial authorities in turn expressed their dissatisfaction with Williams's failure always to do their bidding by accusing him of harbouring Khoi deserters at the mission and of receiving stolen animals. (23) Even so they continued to use him as the spokesman for their demands to Ngqika to keep the peace, and the chief reciprocated by constantly pestering him to make known his requests whether they be for presents of for the return of stolen cattle. On one

occasion Ngqika even asked for money to purchase things from the Boers. (24)

The turmoil in Xhosaland during 1817 was exacerbated by continued friction within the Xhosa ranks as well as across the border between black and white. Ngqika had protested his lack of authority over the other chiefs to no avail. Somerset had invested him as the leading chief and his failure to control the cattle-raiding led to misunderstandings and recriminations which heightened the frontier unrest. As already noted, Ndlambe's independent overtures of peace were rejected and government reprisals involving the round-up of large numbers of his cattle aggravated the situation still further. As 1817 wore on into 1818, cattle-raids between the chiefdoms themselves brought the ferment to the boil with Ngqika calling on his government allies to come to his aid. Williams was the channel for the official communications and he was constantly harassed by claims and counter-claims from the opposing camps. (25)

With much of his time taken up with political negotiations and with his presence among the Xhosa becoming increasingly unwelcome, it is no wonder that Williams feared for the future of his mission. In April 1818, he reported that Ngqika had visited the station once only that year. He had been friendly during his stay; but someone had informed him of a commando coming to seek reprisals for stock losses and murders, and this so angered him that soon after leaving he lashed out in a furious tirade against the mission. He accused them of not giving him his full government compensation of sheep and goats, and of interfering with traditional practices:

> You have your manner to wash and decorate yourselves on the Lords day and I have mine the same in which I was born and that I shall follow I have given over for a little to listen at your word but now I have done for if I adopt your law I must entirely overturn all my own and that I shall not do I shall begin now to dance and praise my beast as much as I please and shall let all see who is Lord of this land. (26)

A conciliatory offer by the Governor restored Ngqika's friendship, but he flouted Williams's teaching by taking another wife. The missionary noted at this time that despite the fact that there was no mass movement of people to the station, there was a constant stream of strangers

coming to hear the word of the Lord and the number of residents had increased slightly. (27)

It was at this critical juncture that Williams was abandoned by his support group from Bethelsdorp. He had been forced to admonish his Khoi helpers repeatedly for bad behaviour. When this was finally made public, they had stood up and abused him and then made ready to go. He would not have mourned their leaving had not Tshatshu been persuaded by his wife to go with them. This was a devastating loss. Williams now had no interpreter and no assistance. (28) He struggled on. But he was worn out with work and in failing health. Four months later, on 23 August, he died. It was left to his widow to give him a Christian burial, the first in Xhosaland. (29)

Mrs Williams instructed the station people to make the coffin and dig the grave. They had never seen a coffin before and she had some difficulty in persuading them to give it a try. After she had promised to direct them, though, they willingly set to work. But the job was not completed until the next day and by that time the corpse was beginning to decompose. At last when everything was ready Mrs Williams appointed four young men to handle the proceedings. She was accompanied to the graveside by her two children, one an infant, and all the men, women and children of the mission. At Mrs Williams's request they sang a hymn and prayed together. The funeral was a radical departure from custom in every respect and it seem highly likely that Ntsikana was present because he ordered the same procedure for his own funeral three years later, so setting the precedent for Xhosa Christians.

After this harrowing experience Mrs Williams was greatly relieved when Ngqika commanded the station people to protect her and her property until she could be joined by friends from the Colony. She was well aware that the chief's usual practice was to strip a widow of all her possessions, and she believed that his friendliness was of the Lord. The people at the mission tried to persuade her to stay on as their teacher until another missionary could be sent, and she thought it her duty to remain. But the official who came to her aid insisted on her returning to the safety of the Colony at once.

The government was highly critical of all missions beyond the Colony's border at this stage and prohibited the founding of any new stations for the time being. Even when John Brownlee finally took Williams's place in 1820, he was appointed as a "government" missionary so as to remain under the authorities' control. (30)

There were widely differing opinions by his

contemporaries about Joseph Williams's contribution. Dr Philip, Superintendent of the L.M.S., called him "a man of integrity and prudence, possessed of an ardent mind, a disinterested spirit, and wholly devoted to the object of his mission". (31) In contrast, the Governor, while not decrying his zeal and energy in pursuing his dangerous venture, found him timid and illiterate and criticized his hesitancy and uncertainty in carrying out his official tasks as a mediator. (32) There is no doubt that Williams lacked the necessary education and skills to satisfy the government's ploys. Moreover, his role as agent constantly placed him in a compromising position. With regard to his ministry, however, although he made no converts, he was effective in banding together a congregation which remained as a worshipping group, and which came under the leadership of Ntsikana before helping to form the nucleus of Brownlee's mission. The Methodist missionary Kay visited the Kat River some years later and was amazed to find the still visible signs of Williams's industry. A large pile of stones marked his grave. This was eventually replaced by a tombstone. (33)

4.2 THE DYNASTIC FEUD : BATTLE OF AMALINDE 1818

4.2.1 "Firewood and Ants"

As the dynastic feud among the western Xhosa came to a climax in 1818, a severe drought heightened the tension by intensifying the competition for scarce resources, especially grazing. Nxele now rose to the zenith of his power as war-doctor to the nation, and master-minded the establishment of a confederacy of chiefs whose aim was to unite with Ndlambe in overthrowing Ngqika. Hintsa, the Xhosa paramount, was a powerful force in supporting Ndlambe as the rightful chief of the Rharhabe. (34)

In the Ngqika camp there was no such unity of purpose. Whereas Ntsikana constantly advised peace, most other councillors were for war, despite the diminishing strength of Ngqika's following. The chief himself was torn by this conflicting advice and vacillated between the two courses until finally the warmongers won the day.

There are various versions as to what finally triggered off the war. One popular strand of the oral tradition claims that it was precipitated by the traditionalists who wanted to punish those who had been won over to Christianity. This version has been dramatized in Jolobe's narrative poem, "Thuthula". (35) The conservative councillors are said to have plotted Ngqika's downfall by

inflaming his desire for Thuthula, and that the abduction of Ndlambe's wife led to his taking his revenge, with Ngqika being defeated in battle. (36) While Ngqika's incest undoubtedly fueled the animosity between the two chiefs, and alienated his followers, the incident had occurred many years earlier and could not have been the immediate cause of the war. (37)

Another version suggests that Ngqika provoked retribution by flouting tradition in other ways. (38) These may all have been contributory factors but it is certain that Ndlambe was still smarting from the raid on his cattle by a colonial commando earlier in the year and was spoiling to settle the score. He needed little provocation to send his forces into action. When Ngqika demanded that he hand over Nxele he refused saying that Hintsa alone was king. (39) This challenge to Ngqika's authority sent him seeking aid urgently from the Colony. But Ndlambe precipitated the fight by seizing the cattle of one of his subordinate chiefs. Ngqika's followers clamoured for revenge and started preparing for battle.

According to tradition, Ntsikana tried to stop the war. (40) He had at first dismissed Nxele's predictions about the Ngqika's becoming "firewood and ants", but he now sent Ncamashe, a neighbouring chief, to Ngqika to warn of the dire consequences of pursuing his stolen cattle : "Listen, son of Mlawu, to the words of the servant of God, and do not cross the Keiskamma. I see the Gaikas scattered on the mountains, I see their heads devoured by ants. The enemy is watching there, and defeat awaits your plumed ones".

Ngqika was inclined to heed Ntsikana's advice, but the majority of his councillors thought otherwise. Manxoyi led the war-party and he called the chief a coward for not wanting to take up arms, "seeing that even a bushman who had his home on the mountains, would afford some help". Manxoyi won the day and Ngqika ordered his warriors to make ready and dress their shields. All had to obey his command.

When Ntsikana learnt that Ngqika's army was massing and would not be stayed, he sent to the chief advocating that he take a defensive position and not allow his warriors to be the first to throw their assegais. He warned against their being enticed into following the enemy into an ambush as they retired, and urged that they should allow their opponents to seize their cattle, only going on to the attack when the Thembu, Ndlambe and Gcaleka sections had moved off homeward in different directions. Ngqika was all for listening to Ntsikana but Manxoyi again scorned his

revelations saying "What kingdom is this that is guided by heaven, has it not been founded by the strength of arms?" The clash here was between old and new. Even though Ntsikana's prophecies on this occasion were purely political, the source of his authority and his pacifist ethic were rejected as going against tradition. Manxoyi reflected the mood of the people and they were therefore eager to follow his guidance. Ngqika had no choice but to give his warriors the customary address before going into battle ; and so they were led straight into the trap which Nxele had laid for them. (41)

Ngqika's army left the Tyhume valley before sunrise. (42) As they rounded Ntaba kaNdoda to Debe Nek, they found the enemy massed in the plain below. The plain was filled with saucer like depressions called amalindi, hence the name of the Battle of Amalinde. (43)

Forgetting Ntsikana's advice, the Ngqika warriors launched full force into the attack. But Ndlambe had only fielded his untried warriors, "the round heads", and they were quickly driven back. The Ngqikas poured forth in triumphant pursuit of their retreating foe, only to find themselves suddenly surrounded by the cream of Ndlambe's army. The "plumed ones", with their distinctive blue-crane feathers, had hidden away in waiting. They now rose en masse from their cover to spring the trap.

The battle raged all day and the bloodshed was gruesome. Ngqika's warriors fought bravely but they were hopelessly outnumbered. They were cut down in their masses "as kaffir-corn falls before the reaper". As night fell the survivors were put to flight, fighting off their pursuers as they followed hard on their heels. On the battlefield itself large fires were lit and the many wounded were speared to death by the confederate forces "so as to put an end to the pretensions of Ngqika" (44) Of those who managed to crawl to safety, most died during the night from the severe cold. When the pitiful remnant reached home the next day there were few homesteads that did not mourn a slain warrior, and many had lost all their menfolk. There had not been such fierce fighting among the Xhosa since Rharhabe had taken possession of the land about sixty years before.

Tradition has obviously placed Ntsikana in a favourable light with the decimation of the Ngqika being seen by his followers as their just deserts in failing to follow his teaching. Typically, with the development of a new religious movement in a situation of intense socio-cultural disturbance, there is also the growth of a myth that the religious leader has the power to protect

himself from harm. One account goes on to relate that as the Ndlambe warriors were searching for spoils after the battle, they passed by Ntsikana's homestead. He knew beforehand that they were coming and ordered the women and children to hide. They found him sitting alone and stopped for a while to look at him, but then moved on without touching him. (45) Ngqika did not fare so well. He had to flee to the west beyond the Koonap River taking what few cattle he could hastily drive away. The Ndlambe rounded up the rest of his herds, commandeered his corn-pits and burned down his kraals.

4.2.2 "The False Allies"

Ngqika went into hiding in the Winterberg from where he sought aid from the British. Once more he is said to have ignored the advice of Ntsikana, who warned that he was giving his country to be "the white man's spoils". (46) Ngqika was so intent on establishing supremacy in his immediate environment that he gave no thought to the far-reaching implications of collaborating with the whites. He had no wish that they should extend their influence or intrude their way of life. His only concern was to appropriate their superior power in recovering his authority, with disastrous consequences.

Somerset was committed to assisting him and immediately dispatched a powerful force of British infantry and burgher militia with orders to subdue Ndlambe and redress Ngqika's wrongs. Ndlambe had also sent an urgent message to the Colony on behalf of the confederate chiefs, "declaring they were anxious to remain at peace with the Colony, but at the same time refusing to submit to Gaika, whom they had conquered". (47) This conciliatory plea was dismissed on the assumption that Ngqika had been victimized for attempting to control the cattle-raiding. So began the Fifth Frontier War in December 1818 without Ndlambe having taken any offensive action whatsoever against the Colony.

Ngqika's followers joined the punitive expedition against Ndlambe and were so merciless in taking their revenge that the British commander had to withdraw his troops before achieving their main objective of subjugating Ndlambe. Twenty-three thousand head of cattle were captured but Ndlambe managed to escape a confrontation by taking refuge with his followers in dense bush. (48) The Ngqika were disarmed and their assegais were placed in a military waggon to prevent them from ill-treating the prisoners. The arms were later handed back at Breakfast Vlei, in the Peddie district; hence the new name of the

place : Icibi le Ntonga, the Lake of Arms (or the vlei of the weapons). (49)

Ngqika was under the impression that the cattle had been taken for his benefit and that the English would wait on him to give them their share, as was the custom of the paramount chief. He therefore ordered both armies to slay from the spoils. Consequently, he was astounded when the English claimed all the cattle, as compensation for their trouble and loss of life. The chief had difficulty restraining his followers from going to the attack. His feelings are graphically portrayed in the Xhosa account:

> "Do not touch them", cried Gaika. They say, "Do not touch my cattle". My guests - the crooked hook-nosed - who say, Let the cow calve and let us eat the milk: our false allies, my shuffling guests. Depart with those cattle, my guests. And the guests shuffled along and departed with them. (50)

This incident gave rise to a new saying : omasiza mbulala, meaning professed friends who help and then turn and kill (rob) you. (51) Ngqika had to be content with his share of nine thousand head of cattle and with being reinstated in his territory as supreme chief.

4.3 PLUGGING IN TO SOURCES OF POWER : THE WAR DOCTOR NXELE

4.3.1 The Attack on Grahamstown 1819

Ngqika's triumph over Ndlambe was short-lived. No sooner had the colonial forces retired than the confederate chiefs were on the warpath seeking revenge. Nxele was the driving force in mobilizing the different clans and welding them together as a fighting unit. He sent messengers throughout the country calling on "all true Xhosa" to take up arms against the whites, promising victory to those who did their duty and threatening the wrath of the ancestors against those who failed. (52) The clan was the empirical unit, cut off from associated clans by its specific ancestor cult. Nxele overcame these divisions by appealing to the super-empirical, the supreme being and the founding fathers of them all, and by claiming to be the mediator of this divine power. The chiefs and elders of each clan would separately make the decision to go to war, but Nxele provided the overarching symbolic sanctions which forged a new national identity. People are prepared to fight

together if they share a belief structure which is real to them. As Nxele told the Xhosa :

> He was sent by Uhlanga, the Great Spirit, to avenge their wrongs; that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in battle against the English (Ammanglézi), whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwartkops river and into the ocean "and then" said the prophet, "we will sit down and eat honey!" (53)

They first fell on Ngqika, sending him fleeing into the mountains again. They then overran Albany and the Zuurveld, attacking military posts, sacking mission stations, setting fire to settler homes and driving off their stock. The burgher force was called out to defend the frontier, but there was some delay owing to the devastations of horse sickness, and before the commandoes could take the field Nxele led a surprise attack on Grahamstown. (54) His aim was to put an end to white interference once and for all. As his chief councillor later told Stockenstrom :

> The war is an unjust one ... When there was peace, some of our bad people stole; but our chiefs forbade it. Your treacherous friend, Gaika, always had peace with you; yet, when his people stole, he shared in the plunder ...
>
> We quarrelled with Gaika about grass - no business of yours. You sent a commando - you took our last cow - you left only a few calves, which died for want, along with our children. You gave half the spoil to Gaika; half you kept yourselves. Without milk, - our corn destroyed, - we saw our wives and children perish - we saw that we must ourselves perish; we followed, therefore, the tracks of our cattle into the colony. We plundered, and we fought for our lives. (55)

Nxele and Mdushane, son of Ndlambe, mustered their army for the final onslaught in the dense bush of the Fish River valley. They are said to have numbered between nine and ten thousand strong. (56) As the supreme war-doctor, itola, it was Nxele's duty to prepare the

warriors for battle and make them invulnerable, ukukafula. (57) The elaborate ritual ceremonies involved in doctoring the army included a sacrifice to the ancestors, the preparation of war medicines, and the treating of the warriors by squirting their bodies with medicines and purification in a river. (58) The war-doctor was believed to have the power to "tie-up", ukubopha, the enemy and render his weapons harmless, as well as controlling the flow of a river so that flooding did not hold up the army. Twigs of Plumbago capensis, also called amabophe, were used as charms. They were hung round the warriors' necks so that they could bite on them when confronted by the enemy and spit in their direction. (59)

On 21 April 1819, the Xhosa leaders sent a message to Colonel Willshire, the British commandant at Grahamstown, announcing "That they would breakfast with him next morning (siya komula kunye kusasa ngomso)". (60) This was in conformity with the Xhosa custom of making a formal declaration of war before attacking the enemy. (61) The Xhosa army massed on the mountains to the north of Grahamstown and at daybreak the next day they were given the customary address by the leading chief and war-doctor before going into battle. Nxele assured them of the aid of the "Spirits of Earth and Air", saying that he would let heaven, i.e. lightning, fall upon their enemies (Ndiya kukuwisa izulu pezu kwabo), and that "the hail-storm of their fire-arms would turn into water". (62) Then shouting their war cries the Xhosa advanced in three columns with Nxele at the head of the largest column.

Nxele was aided by his earlier knowledge of the military defences of Grahamstown, and up-to-date information gleaned by a spy. (63) But he made the fatal mistake of attacking in daylight. The small garrison was taken completely by surprise, his message the previous day having been dismissed as sheer bravado. However, the troops soon rallied and although the Xhosa had the advantage of greater numerical strength, they could not compete against the superior British firepower. They were supported by a number of deserters of the Africa corps with firearms, but the majority fought with assegais and these fell hopelessly short of their target.

Nxele had so convinced his people that the British guns were only charged with hot water, that they advanced on the defences seemingly oblivious of the danger. Encouraged by their chiefs they rushed forward in wave upon wave, and were mown down in their masses. As the muskets took their deadly toll, they cried out to Nxele to bring down the fire from above, calling "let fall Nxele, speak

Nxele, the people are perishing (Wisa Nxele! Teta Nxele! bapela abantu!)." And every time the cannon fired they all shouted "Tayi, Tayi". (64) To no avail. Nxele ordered his followers to break short their last assegais to make stabbing weapons and rush on the troops so as to decide the battle in close combat. They might well have succeeded through sheer weight of numbers but for the timely arrival on the scene of a Khoi contingent who attached the Xhosa flank. The British guns opened fire with renewed fury and, shattered by the onslaught, the Xhosa were put to flight. Nxele tried to rally his forces in vain, and he too was forced to flee. There were more than a thousand dead on the battle-field with many more seriously wounded.

Some thousands of women and children had gathered on the mountains above the frontier post, with their mats and cooking pots, ready to take possession of the place. It was their custom to encourage the men in battle with singing and war cries. (65) They too fled to safety. (66)

The colonial government assembled a large force to take punitive action against the hostile clans. The entire burgher militia was called out together with all available British and Khoi troops. Towards the end of July they advanced into Xhosaland. Hampered by heavy rain they nonetheless moved steadily eastwards, scouring the country from the Winterberg to the sea. The Xhosa were flushed from out their previously impregnable hiding places in the thick bush and were driven as far as the Kei River. Their homesteads were set on fire, their fields laid waste, their cattle seized. (67)

Ndlambe, his principal chiefs and Nxele were declared outlaws by the colonial government and ordered to be taken "dead or alive". Yet even though their followers were destitute and in fear of their lives, they refused to turn traitor and exchange their leaders for high rewards. Eventually Nxele gave himself up. Some say that he feared his countrymen's revenge. He claimed to be motivated by his people's suffering. On 15 August 1819, he sent his two San wives to Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet and a burgher commander. According to Xhosa custom, contesting parties could establish peace on condition that the vanquished recognized the victor as the principal chief, and promised obedience. (68) But Stockenstrom could only guarantee Nxele's life, not his liberty. Much to the commander's surprise, Nxele walked into his camp the next day with his two wives and surrendered, pleading that "people say I have occasioned the war, let me see whether my delivering myself up to the conquerors will restore peace to my country". He was somewhat chagrined to discover that Stockentrom was not the "principal man" and

had no authority to settle terms of peace. Nxele was handed over to Colonel Willshire, the chief commander, and sent to prison in Grahamstown.

A few days later a small party of Xhosa approached Willshire's camp and requested a parley. The two Xhosa envoys were the chief councillors of Ndlambe and Nxele. After inquiring as to Nxele's whereabouts, his councillor delivered a penetrating speech in which he argued the injustice of the war. He ended by saying :

> You want us to submit to Gaika [Ngqika]. That man's face is fair to you, but his heart is false. Leave him to himself. Make peace with us. Let him fight for himself - and we shall not call on you for help. Set Makanna [Nxele] at liberty; and Islambi [Ndlambe], Dushani [Mdushane], Kongo, and the rest will come to make peace with you at any time you fix. But if you will still make war, you may indeed kill the last man of us - but Gaika shall not rule over the followers of those who think him a woman. (69)

This impassioned plea failed to alter Nxele's fate, but his surrender brought the war to a close. He was condemned to life imprisonment on Robben Island near Cape Town. Nxele attempted to escape while in Grahamstown gaol, and again while being taken in leg irons to board ship at Algoa Bay. Finally, on the night of 9 August 1820, he was in a party of thirty prisoners who tried to escape from Robben Island. A white convict overpowered a guard and set the others free. Besides Nxele they included David Stuurman, the Khoi chief, and Hans Trompetter, former captain of the frontier Khoi. They raided the armoury and, although the garrison had by now been alerted, they managed to fight their way out. The fugitives seized three small boats belonging to a whaling station nearby and made for Blouberg beach. The overloaded boat carrying Nxele capsized in the heavy surf and he was drowned. Some of his companions swam to safety on the mainland only to be recaptured by two commandoes later. Two alone made good their escape. (70) A number of survivors related how Nxele had clung for a time to a rock, and that his deep booming voice had been heard loudly cheering them on as they struggled through the waves until he was swept away by the raging sea. His body was later washed up on the beach. (71)

4.3.2 "The Coming of Nxele"

Such was the belief in Nxele's mystical power that his countrymen refused to believe that he was dead. Before giving himself up he had declared that no matter what power or force the white men used against him, they would not be able to detain him : he would surely return to his country and people again. (72) The Xhosa thought him immortal and confidently looked for his coming again. Through the wars of 1835, 1846-7 and 1851-3, they waited expectantly for him to lead them to victory against the white men. It was only after his contemporaries had passed away that they gave up hope. At length in 1873, his mats, assegais and ornaments, which had been carefully preserved by his family in a village near King William's Town, were buried.

The deferred hope of Nxele's return gave rise to the proverb : "Kukuza kuku Nxele - it is the coming of Nxele". This is commonly used to describe something which is long expected but which never happens. (73) Another saying which has been handed down, and represents the opposing Ntsikana tradition, is "Ubalahlekisela nina abantu uNxele? - why does Nxele mislead the people?" (74)

Nxele had four wives but left only one son, Umjuza, and four daughters. In contrast to his father, Umjuza allied himself to the whites and worked actively against the politico-religious movements of subsequent Xhosa prophets. After the Cattle Killing he even assisted his friend, Colonel Gawler, in apprehending Chief Mhala, the son and heir of Ndlambe. (75) But Umjuza still conformed to Xhosa custom and had six wives and thirty children. (76) It was his son, Galada, who made a complete break with their past. Gawler was his godfather and he took his name, being baptized John William Gawler. Galada was also educated by Gawler at the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown and Zonnebloem College in Cape Town, both Anglican institutions. He eventually became a deacon in the Anglican Church, which he served for twelve years until his death in 1899. (77)

The life histories of Nxele's male descendants well illustrate one extreme in the response to acute socio-cultural disturbance : the complete rejection of the past tradition so as to find meaning and a sense of belonging in the radically new incoming tradition. The other extreme is represented by the bulk of the Xhosa who remained in the thaumaturgical tradition initiated by Nxele as a means of coping with the unacceptable. They continued to obey Nxele's injunctions, such as burying their dead, and to follow his ritual practices; and showed a

conspicuous resistance to missionary teaching. (78)

In terms of Cumpsty's model, it can be argued that as the socio-cultural disturbance became great enough to border on the chaotic, Nxele moved from the Protective to the Paradoxical or Irrational Stage. (79) In this stage the rest of experience has become so unacceptable that unity is maintained through selected beliefs and practices which provide security in a situation where the authority of the old tradition linked to the now fragmented socio-cultural order has passed. The words and symbols, traditionally rooted though they are, no longer have a rational connection with everyday life but, paradoxically, function better to integrate the adherents the less they are related to the fragmented structures. It is no longer the meaning for life of the words and practices which is important but that they serve to keep the adherents together in much the same way as a flag might. It is no longer what is believed that matters but the intensity with which it is believed. At this stage a shared experience unrelated to the socio-cultural experience may be an alternative principle of cohesion to that of behaviour or belief patterns. Here the highly emotionally charged religious meeting, charismatic experience and the charismatic figure find their place.

In this stage sudden and mass conversions become possible too because as you get into the new world you may decide to take on a completely new "flag". The old is then totally rejected for it is the intensity of loyalty to one "flag" that is now decisive in producing a sense of belonging. Nxele never converts but the beliefs he advocates become a "flag" so that when they fail to materialize it hardly matters. Whether it be the invulnerability of bullets or ancestors and their cattle coming from the sea, they have become the focus of belonging and it is that which matters.

Nxele promised a mass resurrection of the ancestors that was clearly influenced by Christian expectations. If this belief had become the single focus of their unity then they might well have converted to Christianity within the Paradoxical Stage and then have rejected all the rest of their African past. But the way it was assimilated into Xhosa belief gained its symbolic power, from its relatedness to their tradition rather than being discontinuous from it.

We shall see that in the next hundred years there were many red Xhosa who remained in the Protective or Paradoxical Stages, seeking to protect their African symbols against the impact of the incoming western culture

and uniting in movements to drive away the intruders. The conversion of Nxele's grandson, Galada, being accompanied by an extreme rejection of Xhosa tradition, indicates how much into the Paradoxical Stage the followers of the Nxele tradition eventually moved, in contrast to the followers of Ntsikana, who in embracing the Christian tradition did not find it necessary to reject their African past. Nxele became a symbol concerned with a hoped-for discontinuity rather than growth.

4.4 THE POLL-HEADED : A NEW WAY OF LIFE FOR NTSIKANA'S DISCIPLES

4.4.1 Christian Witness Amidst Conflict

After Williams's death the station people remained at Kat River until war broke out a couple of months later. They had brought their cattle with them, built huts, sowed their crops, and become absorbed into a new community. For the Khoi, the mission was a refuge for a displaced people without strong social ties. But for the Xhosa, they had broken away from the corporate body, often at considerable personal sacrifice, and they had no wish to be reabsorbed into the traditional milieu. By continuing to set themselves as a group apart, however, they threatened the cohesion of Xhosa society and without the protection of their missionary they were now subjected to constant harassment as their countrymen sought to bring them back into line. They were taunted with jibes about the work of the mission having ended, and when some of them became sick, this was cited as proof that their suffering was caused by their prayers. (80)

In December 1818, when Ngqika called all his followers to take up arms, this was one command which neither the Xhosa at Kat River nor Ntsikana's disciples dared disobey. Failure to comply meant death although Ntsikana seems to have been an exception as there is no record of his having fought at Amalinde. Following Ngqika's defeat "the praying-men" were held to blame and there was a clamouring for their blood. (81) However, Ngqika's followers were too intent on fleeing to safety to take any action against "the believers".

With the Ndlambe on the rampage Ntsikana was obliged to gather up his disciples and make for the Koonap River, and the station people went with him. No sooner had they left the Kat River than a marauding band razed the mission to the ground. They first took the hinges off the doors, then burnt down the mission house and the huts belonging to

the residents. (82) In a letter to the L.M.S., John Brownlee notes with some satisfaction, though, that while all Ngqika's councillors who had been opposed to the mission had been killed in the war, not one member of the institution had died ; and that while all the mission people had managed to escape with their lives and their property, although surrounded by enemies, their neighbours had lost nearly all their cattle, and many had lost their lives. He concluded this rather extravagant claim by saying that instead of the word of God having been removed from Xhosaland by the death of Williams, as the Xhosa had expected, there was now "a great increase of labourers and a greater number among the Caffers witnesses for the truth of that word". (83)

Ntsikana's flight with his followers is reminiscent of the Hebrew Exodus and it is possible that Williams's teaching of Old Testament history inspired his organization of their worship during this period. It seems more likely, though, that it was his own creative response to the peculiarities of the situation.

The Ndlambe pursued the Ngqika to the Tambo, which is beyond present-day Bedford in the Winterberg, a distance of about one hundred and thirty-five kilometres. (84) Makapela Noyi Balfour recalls the places through which Ntsikana's group passed on their journey as Tshokotshela, Lukoko (Yellowwood's River, Fort Beaufort), Nyarha (Bedford), Emtontsi, and on up to the mountains of Tomboti (sandalwood). What impressed Makapela most was that although they were fleeing the enemy, Ntsikana insisted that their daily worship be held in a specially prepared clearing.

> Wherever we stopped for the night to rest, we boys in accordance with Ntsikana's orders, had to make a large clearing in the bush, trim it and make it beautiful, in order to raise a place of worship. We would then put stones as seats and these stones would be put one upon another. Ntsikana would then worship there with a service and a prayer. We kept this up throughout the flight and never were we without a place to worship our Great Creator. (85)

Among the Xhosa the ritual associations of the cattle byre were limited to a specific lineage. It is hardly likely that the byre would have been reconstituted during a journey, let alone on a regular basis for a large mixed

group. Ntsikana's need to mark out a place of worship thus seems to be drawing mainly on Christian associations, flowing out of his own previous worship patterns and his experience in attending services at the mission which had been held out of doors before the schoolroom was completed. But his unique contribution was the mobility of his place of worship during the dispersal bringing to mind the tent of meeting or tabernacle as the sanctuary of the Hebrews in their wandering through the desert.

Ntsikana's group eventually joined the other Ngqika refugees in their mountain settlement beyond the Koonap River. There they stayed until the end of the Fifth Frontier War. During this time "the believers" continued to hold together as a group and had daily morning and evening worship. What is more they never forgot the Sabbath, observing it with "constant meetings for religious instruction and mutual education, singing and prayer". (86)

At the end of the war large numbers of Ndlambe's followers escaped across the Kei. The other chiefs in the confederacy were summoned together with Ngqika to a conference with Somerset in October. The terms laid down by the Governor found little favour with either Ngqika or his foes, but neither camp dared refuse their consent. Both sides lost land besides which the vanquished chiefs were required to recognize Ngqika once more as the supreme leader of the western Xhosa. This was a bitter pill.

The Governor had devised a policy which aimed to keep the peace on the frontier by segregating black and white. It was bound to cause further discord as, apart from the emotive issues involved in alienating ancestral land, the reduction in Xhosa territory resulted in a greater competition for fast diminishing resources. Whereas the Fish River was to remain the eastern boundary of the Colony, the Xhosa boundary was moved east to the Keiskamma River. The area in between was designated a no-man's-land and was to serve as a buffer zone. Military patrols were to police the neutral territory to ensure that it remained unoccupied by either side. Two forts were established in the area for this purpose. As a special concession Ngqika was allowed to remain in the neutral zone, but he was restricted to the region between the Tyhume and Keikamma Rivers, a fraction of his former territory.

Although the Governor's arrangements were made in consultation with Ngqika, the chief was given no say in the matter. Under Xhosa law he had no right to cede any part of the land, even under duress. Consequently, no matter that the colonists insisted on calling the buffer zone the

Ceded Territory, the Xhosa considered that it had been wrongfully taken from them and only wanted their opportunity to reclaim it. (87)

At the conference Ngqika asked for a successor to Williams to be sent as soon as possible to instruct his people in the Christian doctrine and to introduce the European system of agriculture, as well as someone to handle the government correspondence. (88) The Governor in turn needed an agent who would assist in keeping the peace among the border chiefs, and see to Ngqika's wants so that he might gain sufficient authority to control cattle-raiding. The agent would also have to obtain data which would facilitate trade with the Colony and help to control illicit traffic in ivory and slaves, and collect as much information as possible about the political and social relations of the border chiefs and their people. (89) The Governor's choice fell on John Brownlee, "an enthusiastic and intelligent man, selected for his piety and moral character", who had the advantage of not being attached to any society. Brownlee had originally been appointed to assist Williams, but Williams had died before he was permitted to join him and he had resigned from the L.M.S. shortly afterwards.

Brownlee was appointed government missionary and agent to Ngqika at the beginning of 1819, but war intervened and despite the Governor's urging he did not take up residence with the chief until the following year. (90) In the meantime he visited the frontier in September 1819 and joined the remnant of the Kat River congregation at Fish River. Before his arrival many of the other station people, both Gonaqua and Xhosa, had been enticed into service with the Boers, induced by the assurance that there was no likelihood of another missionary being sent to the country. Some of them later escaped back to Xhosaland, but others were separated from their families and ended up in captivity on Robben Island. (91)

Soon afterwards Brownlee visited Ngqika at Tyhume (Chumie) and found a few more of the Kat River people living there. He was pleased to learn that they still continued to meet for worship. (92) Brownlee was greatly impressed with the fruits of Williams's work not only among the people of his institution, but also among those who had been occasional visitors, and he cited Ntsikana as the prime example. Writing in 1822 he said :

> There is a Kraal of about 100 population, who, from the time of his (Williams's) death to my entrance into Caffreland, (a period of

> nearly two years,) were accustomed to meet regularly for worship, morning and evening, and to observe the Lord's day. The chief person of the kraal, who conducted the worship, died about two years ago. He composed a hymn in their language, which they still sing in the worship of God. (93)

In another letter, to Dr Philip, at the same period, Brownlee wrote that the conduct of Ntsikana, since the death of Williams,

> was like that of one, who had tasted that the Lord is gracious. It was his constant practice, after he had gained a little knowledge, to communicate the same ; and, for this purpose, they met in a large hut, built on purpose, twice a day for worship : and in all the vicissitudes which they experienced since the above mentioned period, wherever they wandered they erected a hut for the worship of God, amidst the reproach and persecution of the surrounding Caffres. (94)

Brownlee's information is vital in that he was "personally acquainted with Sikana (sic), and those connected with him". (95) His is the sole contemporary written record of Ntsikana's ministry and although it credits Williams with Ntsikana's conversion, it nonetheless supports basic evidence in the oral tradition.

Ntsikana did not suffer only at the hands of his countrymen. His home was in the Ceded Territory and on his return he was harassed by the colonial troops who were clearing the area of all people. The Kat River remnant was not allowed to resettle at the site of their station either but were ordered to join their chief at Tyhume. Some of them moved to the head of the Ncehra, and the rest, including Matshaya and Noyi, joined Ntsikana at Nontluto (in the vicinity of Blinkwater in the Fort Beaufort district). They had ploughed their land and sowed their corn, but the corn was not yet ripe when the colonial troops came, burned down their houses, and ordered them to leave for Tyhume. Matshaya continues with the story :

> Some of us asked, how shall we obtain a teacher if we go to that quarter? One of the officers asked, "Where is your teacher?". We pointed to Ntsikana. The Colonial troops then

> said, "Where is your book?" and having a Dutch book with me I showed it to them. One of them then laid hold of his gun, and said, "This is our book. Begone. You must not stay here". (96)

Ntsikana first went with his followers to Ncotsi, and then to the Gwali in the Tyhume valley. But Ngqika and his men were so unfriendly to "the people who attended to the Word of God", that they would not allow them to remain in peace. Hounded on all sides, they returned to the Kat River and were living there when Brownlee came to Gwali to found his mission in June 1820. Ntsikana was on his way to join Brownlee when he was taken ill and died at this old home at Thwatwa.

4.4.2 Ntsikana's Disciples

It has frequently been noted that the earliest mission converts in Xhosaland were the marginal people of society : refugees of Khoi and mixed blood heritage, misfits and outcasts with physical defects, people who fled from their chiefs, such as the victims of witchcraft accusations, and women escaping from the strictures of traditional custom, such as widows, wives of polygynous households and girls running away from arranged marriages. For some Xhosa the mission stations provided places of refuge in an increasingly disturbed world. They offered political sanctuary to those who had broken away from their clans as a result of natural fission or inter-clan feuding, and provided economic security in a drought-ravaged land. Sufficient arable land and pasturage for cattle were a persuasive attraction, while the new agricultural techniques introduced by Williams and his successors gave the assurance of a regular water supply and year-round food. (97)

In addition, Williams set the precedent of establishing a mission round a nucleus of converts from the Colony, and they in turn brought in members of their families. (98) But they were mainly of Khoi stock. An important facet that has yet to be fully explored is the role of Tshatshu in evangelizing the Xhosa. His presentation of the gospel in their own language and in their own idiom had a powerful spiritual impact, and genuine conversions cannot be denied. The story of Noyi is an example. (99) A sub-chief of the Gwali clan, he was drawn by curiosity to Kat River. It was Tshatshu who admonished him to be converted ; and a spiritual experience

during a service in which he felt stabbed to the heart during the singing and fell down, led to his becoming a believer. He informed Ngqika, who directed him to Ntsikana. But the desertion of his councillors to another chief prompted him to settle with his wives at the station, and only after the break-up of the mission did he join Ntsikana.

Most of the early mission residents were of no political consequence. In contrast, Ntsikana was a councillor of Ngqika, and many of his disciples were councillors too, with at least one influential chief. (100) Numbers of them, like Tyodo, were from his own Cira clan. Others like Soga and his son Festire were drawm in through the marriage relationship with the Jwara clan. Ntsikana's neighbour, Chief Ncamashe of the Right Hand House of Gwali (son of Phuthise, of Ntaba, of Gwali), was from a royal clan and he brought a large following from the Gwali clan with him. This included his eldest son Rwexwana and his second son Mangindi, his younger brother Xuba with his sons Koti and Matshikwe, members of his extended family like Pingelo and Rwexu, and his councillors Tamo, Ngxe, Matshaya and Noyi. (101) The clan affiliation of many of the other leading disciples is not known, as for example the councillors Ngquka (an interpreter) and Mbi, and Xelelwa, Ngqokweni, Tyakatya, Vimbe, Palaza, Mazaleni, Peyi, Liginye, Mtyobile, Nginya, Velem and Qalaka. But the Kwayi and Ntakende clans are also mentioned as having disciples of Ntsikana. (102) A Khoi clan in the area, the Sukwini, was represented by Hogu and his son Tabalaza.

It would seem therefore that the extended lineage and clan relationships together with neighbourhood aggregations were the crucial links in establishing Ntsikana's following, and that it was the corporate nature of the new community that was significant, as in the tradition, as against the individual nature of mission membership. The question is why did Ntsikana's disciples join him?

Women have often proved to be more likely converts than men, and the wives of polygynous households more than the lineage heads. (103) In this instance it was the heads of homesteads and lineages who took the initiative, bringing their wives and children with them. Although Ntsikana set the example of having monogamy as the ideal, he made no move to exclude polygynists and this in itself left the options wide open in comparison with the stringent mission requirements. Moreover, his disciples were not required to adopt western standards of living in housing and dress, nor were they in need of educational qualifications for conversion, as at the mission.

There is insufficient evidence to determine the specific economic forces at work at the time except that land issues were paramount. In what way Ntsikana may have offered a solution is uncertain. But the political tensions are self-evident. Ngqika's collaboration and loss of authority were critical factors in fragmenting his following and in creating the need for new forms of association in the disrupted social order. The defeat of the Ngqika at Amalinde and their subsequent dispersal compounded the chaos. In this situation Ntsikana offered an acceptable way forward, the radical nature of his teaching being compensated for by the continuities with the past. The grouping around a dominant personality was in keeping with the patterns of Xhosa leadership and Ntsikana provided the symbolic focus for the new aggregation. Although it was primarily a new form of religious association, the ties of clan and lineage among the disciples satisfied the need for a corporate sense of belonging and integration within Xhosa society as a whole, rather than as a group apart like the station people. Through Ntsikana they expressed their new beliefs and practices as part of the Xhosa world, living among Xhosa in a Xhosa way.

According to Cumpsty's model, Ntsikana's disciples had followed him deep into the Search Stage. It would seem, though, that the model has need of refinement here to differentiate between those who are gradually accommodating the incoming culture over a long period, as the Xhosa had originally, and those who take active steps to accommodate the new which in some way involves a fundamental departure from the old.

Once you have made some accommodation to the incoming symbols you have by that very act separated yourself from other members of your group who have not taken that step. And although acceptance solves some immediate problems. alienation leads to resentment by the opposition and in the end this adds to your own sense of chaos. There is then a more pressing sense of the need to reformulate your sense of reality and an intensified search for belonging. It is this that pushed Ntsikana and his disciples further into the Search Stage. The more chaotic the situation becomes, the greater the search until it inevitably spills over into the Protective or Paradoxical Stage.

The indications are that Ntsikana's group moved into the Protective Stage. When they became threatened from both sides, their countrymen and the whites, the need was to clarify who was with them and who against just as Nxele

had done, although there is no sign that Ntsikana threw anyone out of his group as had Nxele. For all that their lineage and clan ties had held Ntsikana's group together in the Search Stage, once it became clear that they had embraced the new, their own people rejected them. No longer united at the socio-cultural level, they now began to need symbols for their identity as distinct from the sense of belonging derived from their rootedness in Xhosa life. Not only was there a need to develop a theology to unite them at the belief level. but also a need for symbols to identify the group against the rest. Ntsikana's Great hymn is evidence of a developing systematic theology and the Poll-headed, a symbol of unity.

4.4.3 The Poll-Headed : a New Way of Life

Ntsikana had experienced a spiritual renewal which led to a radical change in his life. He had come to a conviction of sin in that he recognized sin in the context of what he thought and did, and realized that his wrongdoing was an offence against God rather than an infraction of social relationships. (104) This led him to take the step in faith which accepts that salvation in Christ sets men free from sin : that he who truly repents of his sin and has faith in Christ will be born again to lead a new life in Christ : that the grace of God is sufficient to enable men to overcome all evil ; and that to believe is to know the peace of God. We shall see that Ntsikana's prophecy about the last things shows his concern in a future life, but the main thrust of his message was concerned with translating salvation into here and now : to show that freedom in Christ can be realized in this world as well as the next. Consequently, the new community he brought into being was dedicated to witnessing to the reconciliation wrought by Christ's atoning death. What he was providing was the Church's sense of an alternative community, that modern term for an ancient reality.

Ntsikana, possibly influenced by Vanderkemp, believed in the power of divine grace. Vanderkemp had remained unarmed, even in the midst of fighting in Xhosaland. He believed that a Christian must rather part with all his possessions than kill another in trying to save them : that is was only permitted to kill in self-defence or to save the life of another. (105) At the same time, Ntsikana could just as well be drawing on the African sense of inclusiveness and interrelatedness, where the basic need is to maintain harmony and peace by integrating relationships. These aspects would then be emphasized in his new found

faith. All along we see that he uses African symbols and African ways of thought in relating to the incoming Christianity. What he represents therefore, is a meshing of the basic African world view with the symbols of grace and integration in the Christian one.

Ntsikana called his disciples the Poll-headed, using the term ingukuva, meaning an ox without horns to symbolize defencelessness ; (106) and directed them to discard their assegais, throwing aside the assegai being a traditional sign of peace. Instead they were to arm themselves spiritually by singing his song, which he called "the assegai of God", and submit no matter what suffering they had to endure. And the suffering was endless as they were hounded around the country and persecuted by black and white alike. According to Ntsikana's grandson, Nkohla Falati, he said :

> Let those of the Gaikas who wish to retain their faith to their death in spite of stones and sticks and spittle and obloquy and the scornful triumph of the falsehood of those whose faith is in cant, let them form themselves in a union whose weapon will (be) their own assegai. When they sing this song they will provoke from many a storm of abuse, but if they sing it persistently, the Poll-headed will hack a way for them through the dark forest and make a ford by which they may all cross in the full possession of their faith.

Falati goes on to relate Ntsikana's symbolic use of the Poll-headed song to the troubles which the Ngqika were experiencing following their removal to the Transkei after the Ninth Frontier War.

> Today, therefore, in the Transkei here, stones, sticks, and snares are our daily portion. There then Gaikas, is the weapon which Ntsikana said would be your stay, when stones and snares should be your daily portion ... This then is the blessing bequethed upon the Gaikas ...
>
> This song, children of Xhosa, will make you firm, when you begin to grow weak. With it you must praise God unwearyingly Gaikas, it will open a way of life for you out of the snares, out of the abuse, and out of the

> assegai points of those whose faith is already dead ; and who use for their weapon a strange spear, discarding their own assegais. (107)

There is an element of magic here relating to the concept of the power being in the word. This links with the amagwijo or battle songs which were sung by a man when going into war. Such a song was supposed to give him courage in facing the enemy. The word igwijo was also used as a personal song, rather like a signature tune. It was composed by a man coming out of circumcision school and served to identify him : his clan, his chief, his ancestors and his kin. He would sing this song even at the point of death because this was the means by which he was known. (108)

The symbolism relating Ntsikana's Poll-headed hymn to a battle song, and as a form of identity, together with the spear symbolism, is clearly derived from Xhosa sources. At the same time, although there is no specific evidence of missionary influence, there are strong biblical links with, for instance, Isaiah 59 : 17 and Ephesians 6 : 11-17. It is tempting to draw a comparison with the figurative language used by Paul to represent the spiritual armour of God with which a Christian soldier defends himself against the Powers. Furthermore, the theme of unity through Christ which is central to Paul's message to the Ephesians may well have been the inspiration behind Ntsikana's idea of forming a union of believers ; and a number of correspondences between his teaching and that in Ephesians supports this view. (109) It is highly likely that Ntsikana heard Williams and Tshatshu expound on these passages because they were the stuff of evangelical preaching, so providing the focal idea for linking his African symbols.

The assegai was the main weapon of the Xhosa warrior, but it also had an intrinsic value of its own and was exchanged for cattle and other things. (110) Ntiskana's metaphorical use of it as a weapon of defence rather than attack was a symbolic expression of the mission of reconciliation to which he was committed as a "believer". His "strange spear", the Poll-headed song, in turn symbolized the "irresistible power of the unarmed truth". There is also an association of ideas here with the nickname given the first converts by their traditional countrymen, amaggobhoka or "the perforated", the idea being that "the word or preaching has pierced a hole through the heart ascribing the change to natural causes". (111)

Another possible symbolic link is with the spear or spears held by the imbongi or tribal bard when declaiming a praise poem, with the understanding that the poem itself has power to bring things about. (112) Ntsikana's references to their hacking through bush and fording rivers appears to relate to their present experience, as well as being a symbolic representation of the arduousness of the road ahead. He developed the spear-symbolism further by saying: "Every people which does not hurl the javelin (spear) of God will be destroyed, but all such as hurl this javelin will never by shaken". (113) The weapon which destroys life becomes the symbol of new life.

Whether Ntsikana was a pacifist because of his Christian belief or whether Christianity provided a useful alliance in answer to his needs has been a point at issue ; but there is no doubt that his submission involved suffering. Universality and pacifism go hand in hand, and the universality in Ntsikana's teaching contrasts sharply with the particularism of Nxele.

Ntsikana's movement is sometimes seen as the first African Independent Church in Southern Africa ; but this classification is unhelpful because it was neither independent of nor primarily rooted in the church. It is more nearly reminiscent of the spontaneous and charismatic nature of early Christianity with its absence of a creed until the need for a unifying sense of belief necessitates its development. (114)

4.4.4. The Selectivity of Ntsikana's Biblical Teaching

Tradition relates that Ntsikana was instrumental in negotiating with Ngqika for the site of the Kat River mission, (115) and that he used to go to "school" there with his people from Saturday to Sunday to hear the word of God. This is supported by Brownlee. In the early days "school" was synonymous with "church". Their attendance was not very regular though as they lived some 'thirty kilometres away and "the people got tired walking on foot to Sihota". (116)

Ntsikana's later more biblical teaching undoubtedly reflects his growth as a Christian under Williams's influence. The selectivity of his references, however, raises the question of how familiar he was with the biblical tradition and whether the obvious limitations are because he did not know much of it, because he had certain affinities to part of it, or because parts of it were difficult to handle in the early stages of transition from

a traditional African to a Christian world view.

It is almost certain that he was familiar with much of the material used by the evengelical preacher as found in his use of spear imagery relating to the armour of God. What is clear too is his affinity for certain material. His great grandson, Burnet Gaba, notes that he referred to "Bible characters, for instance Noah and Mary (the mother of Jesus Christ), but chiefly to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ". (117) Balfour, speaking as one present, adds the names of Adam, David (Dafeti), the Messiah (Mesiyasi) and the Lamb of God. (118) Ntsikana's continued use of monistic language shows how his favourite figures were incorporated into a still developing system of belief. In what is said by his grandson, Falati, to be part of his final testimony to his followers, he says :

> My family observe God's words. Renounce the barbarous customs and habits of the Kaffirs. When you are strangled with thongs and pierced with spears, struck with sticks and stones, let not these things move you from your allegiance to God. Love one another ... Gaikas, whoever is indifferent to these words is indifferent about his own life. Again, you wild Gaikas offer no prayers to, nor worship the spirits of your ancestors, which cannot benefit. They cause you to err, O children of Umlau (the house of Ngqika). One spirit is there, who is the mightiest of cures, God the son of Mary the Saint. This fornication to which you adhere was spoken of by David, a man of old. This David who was the most faithful of the faithful of the Lord, gave warning of this abomination. All people who believe in the charms of witchdoctors will be destroyed together with their prognosticators and seers. My advice to them is to worship God. Whatever people makes God its charm above all other peoples is secure from danger, and inaccessible to troubles and anxieties. (119)

The idea of God as a "charm" and the "mightiest of cures" is drawn straight from the traditional belief in magic and the manipulation of medicines. Ntsikana's metaphorical use of this imagery is based on the notion that certain material substances have an independent source of power which is innate in themselves and can be manipulated for good or for evil. (120) The symbolic

associations of the medicines are of far greater importance than the substances which carry the symbols. (121) What Ntsikana is saying here is that God is the mightiest of medicines, of protection as well as cure. He alone must be worshipped. Further, the African preoccupation with a search for health and wholeness leads to an emphasis on healing through the superior power of the Spirit, made manifest through the Son, so satisfying the need to find a substitute for the traditional techniques of dealing with misfortune which have been rejected. Healing is understood in its widest sense to include confession and reconciliation in social relationships.

Ntsikana was the first Xhosa to lead a prayer-movement; but this linking of prayer with healing is found widely in new religious movements throughout Africa today. They attract a large following because they fulfil needs which have long been neglected by the main-line churches. (122) The shift from the use of magic and medicines to prayer, in the sense of inner communion with God, is said to be the great leap in the shift from outward forms to inner religion. (123) Some people would argue, however, that this shift does not take place and that prayer is verbal magic.

Ntsikana seems to have had a particular affinity for the figure of David. Perhaps he was able to identify himself with the special relationship which David had with God (Yahweh), his role as God's servant and his position as leader of his people. Of even greater appeal probably was David's standing as an ancestor, for Jesus was the king of David's dynasty. Added to which, the historical verification of what Ntsikana understood to be David's prophecies could have given him confidence in the biblical tradition to which he saw himself as heir. There is an idealization of the past, with the present being full of abominations and falling away. For Ntsikana, Jesus is the greater David.

As tradition relates, "Ntsikana would describe a person called David and make him as the father of all Christians. This led to a man being named David even though he was a Xhosa hero, because this name was a respected name at Mankazana". (124) It is significant perhaps that David was the only biblical figure mentioned by Vanderkemp in his journal besides Christ. (125) An authoritative account of the Ntsikana tradition by the Glasgow missionaries, in the third issue of Ikwezi in February 1845, refers to a section of the Great hymn relating to David which is said to have been left out in the hymn-book transcriptions. This corresponds closely

with the reference given by Falati above :

Ulo David ubikile umbulo,
Lilona kolwa, likolwa ku-Tixo.
Literally : David has told us about incest (fornication),
He is the true believer, he believes in God. (126)

As shown by Mosaic history, it takes a long time for the idea of sin to develop from its traditional concept as a social infraction and the consequent alienation of relationships and contamination of the body corporate, an almost material sense of sin, through the idea of a moral relationship with God and a sense of personal responsibility to him, to a sense of personal inadequacy to be recognized and outgrown through grace. Arbitrariness was not present in the tradition.

Just because much of Ntsikana's teaching is couched in the correct terminology, one cannot infer that he immediately moved to an understanding of a moral relationship with God. Rather, I argue that his concept of sin moved through various phases. It is clear from his reasoning that Ngqika's eye ailment was a punishment from God, that he initially had much the same idea of the doctrine of rewards and punishments as Job's comforters.

In the reference to David there is the idea of owning up to wrongdoing. The implication is that even the sinner can be a faithful one if he confesses his wrongdoing. As Berglund observes, the idea of confession is present in the Nguni tradition to the extent of a public acknowledgement of an evil deed or immoral act. Confessions are concerned with restoring right relationships between people, living and dead, so as to re-establish harmony. They are "the legitimized safety-valves for speaking out grievances, grudges, envy, etc. which lead to anger and subsequent expressions of witchcraft and sorcery". (127) According to Wilson, "the symbol for expressing good will, thereby acknowledging that any anger which may have existed is expressed and got rid of, is to spit or blow out water". (128) The speaking-out has to be done before food can be shared bacause the ritual feast is an expression of goodwill and harmony in communion with the ancestors.

It seems highly likely from Ntsikana's reference to David that he was making a connection between him and Ngqika. There were obvious parallels between the story of David's lust for another man's wife, which led to his contriving the death of her husband so that they could

marry, (129) and Ngqika's abduction and marriage to Thuthula. Ntsikana taught that even such as Ngqika could become a faithful one, like the king David, if he confessed his wrongdoing. How much the idea of owning up to error and repentance was present in Ntsikana's teaching at this stage is difficult to say, but the evidence undoubtedly suggests that he moved through this phase for by the time he died he had grown to an understanding of suffering as having nothing to do with sin.

Ntsikana's last words to his disciples, as related by Falati, also show a strenuous rejection of all associations with the past life, typical of a first-generation Christian : of the renunciation of the ancestor cult and, in moving to monotheism, an emphasis on God as Spirit. (130) Of course there is always the possibility that it could be a reading in of content at a later date, but it certainly rings true. The other phrases which Ntsikana is reputed to have used - Father, Mary the Saint, Lamb and Messiah - are such as would have been used by any missionary. This brings us to the difficulties which Ntsikana may have experienced in incorporating certain Christian concepts.

The idea of Saint in association with the communion of the dead would present no problems. Father, and Mary as mother, are also easily understood in anthropomorphic terms. However, Father has Christological overtones because if you mean the Father of the Son then it produces Jesus as a divine figure. In a situation where the old monism is being translated into monotheism and a world with many different spirits is being rejected in favour of belief in one God, to bring an emphasis on three persons of Trinity begins to look difficult whereas an all-pervading God as Spirit is much easier to handle. This is a phenomenon which is still present in one form or another in African Christianity, more especially in the Zionist churches, where the emphasis is on God as Spirit and minimal references to the Son. It is only as second and third generations of Christians get more secure in their monotheism that they begin to handle the notion of Trinity without feeling that they are being pressed back into a form of polytheism. (131) Lamb and Messiah pose similar problems of Jesus as divinity incarnate.

Incarnation is difficult for the traditional African to cope with because a sense of cosmic oneness is an essential feature of monism. So whilst the world is already divine, God is immanent. He is all-pervading even though He may be in the background of man's consciousness. And if everything is divine what does incarnation mean? Transcendence of God and secularity of the world is a sine

qua non of incarnation. One element of transition in theology is that as there is a greater sense of transcendence so the notion of incarnation becomes meaningful.

Tradition maintains that a reference to the Lamb as Messiah is another missing section in the transcription of Ntsikana's Great hymn, although the sacrificial section was retained, albeit in a slightly different form :

> Small Lamb is the Messiah :
> Whose feet have wounds through crucifixion,
> Whose hands have wounds through crucifixion,
> Who was pierced with a spear on the side.
> (132)

This was corroborated by Dr Philip who actually published a similar version of this section of the hymn in 1828 :

> We supplicate the Holy Lamb,
> Whose blood for us was shed,
> Whose feet for us were torn,
> Whose hands for us were pierced. (133)

The earliest version in an extant hymn-book, the Wesleyan book of songs of 1835, has a comparable section, as has Kropf's version gathered from the oral tradition in the 1880s. (134) Yet strangely enough the messianic praises are omitted in all later hymn—books. Ntsikana, either because he had moved to a position of security or because this was the truth as he had heard it and therefore accepted such phrases uncritically without appreciating the difficulties, included these lines. But as Balfour recalls,

> They began with Ntsikana ; but they were only clearly understood when white missionaries came carrying the Bible which is the word of God. This described fully about Adam and God's creation, about ancestors like David and the Messiah who is coming. (135)

With the growth in understanding among Ntsikana's disciples experience would have shown that incarnation and a trinitarian understanding of God were problematic where theology is in transition. Only when God is separate and transcendent can you talk about His coming into the world. The fact that the early converts would have had problems in

coping with these thoughts themselves suggests that the lines in the Great hymn referring to the Father, Lamb and Messiah, were pulled out because of missiological considerations. But the sacrificial section could refer to a thoroughly natural or non-divine figure. The emphasis is on what this person did for us and the idea of sacrifice was a familiar concept to the Xhosa, so that this part could be retained without any difficulty. It is only when you want to talk about God becoming the human divine person and you get into questions of the two natures of Christ and the three persons of Trinity that it becomes incomprehensible to those who are not schooled in Greek metaphysical thought.

NOTES - CHAPTER 4

1. For a detailed description of Williams's mission to the Xhosa see Holt (1954).
2. They continued : "After they had sent a good lot of them to hell, then would be the time to go and preach salvation to them, and not before" : a letter of Mrs Williams cited by Philip II (1828) p. 165.
3. The site of the mission was at the mouth of the Baddaford Kloof about 3 miles from present day Fort Beaufort, next to the road leading to the Katberg.
4. Information on the founding of the mission is taken from letters from Williams and his wife to L.M.S., 7 August 1817, Philip II (1828) pp. 167-9 and Transactions of the L.M.S. IV, pp. 423-4
5. Ibid.
6. Williams (1960) pp. 246-70.
7. Harinck (1960) ; Newton-King and Malherbe (1981) ; Williams (1978) p. 62.
8. Dr Philip's speech quoted in Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register 1836, p. 356.
9. Vimbe in Bokwe (1914) p. 51.
10. W.T. Brownlee, The Progress of the Bantu. A Choice of Good or Evil (Lovedale, 1928) p. 4. The name was sometimes extended to Velidyama Dyob Sigazi : Holt (1954) p. 51 n. 4.
11. Holt (1954) ; Philip II (1828) pp. 169-70.
12. Life of Charles Henry Matshaya, dictated to Rev. J. Laing in "Kafir" first published in Glasgow Missionary Record, 1842. See Appendix I in Bokwe (1914) pp. 32-5.
13. Berglund (1976) p. 296 n. 26, quotes Norenius (1924) on the dualistic concept of two hearts in African thought. The white one which strives for good is in constant battle with the black one which desires the bad, and the person involved is at the mercy of this struggle between the two inner powers, unable to help himself.
14. Williams to Rev. G. Burder, 17 Oct. 1817, in Holt (1954) p. 71.
15. B. Ntsikana (1902) pp. 10-11. See also Z. Soga (1914) p. 56.
16. Ibid., p. 8.
17. Holt (1954) p. 53 et seq ; Transactions of L.M.S. IV, p. 423.
18. The Xhosa poet, J.J.R. Jolobe, gives a romantic account of Ngqika's conversion to the new gospel, and his councillors' opposition, in his poem Thuthula. See description in B.E.N. Mahlasela, Jolobe - Xhosa Poet and Writer (Working Paper no. 3, Dept. of African Languages, Rhodes University, 1973) p. 31.
19. B. Ntiskana (1902) pp. 8-9.
20. Holt (1954) pp. 53, 55. When Ngqika and some of his people professed to receive the truth, they were accused by Ndlambe of having become Jews and thus infecting the Xhosa nation with the crime committed by the Jew who murdered the Son of God. The word for Jew is umDyode. Nxele's influence is evident here : R. Godfrey, "Rev. John Bennie, the Father of Xhosa Literature", Bantu Studies VIII (2) : pp. 132-3, 1934.
21. Extract from Williams's journal, 18 April 1817, in Philip II (1828) pp. 169-70.
22. Holt (1954) p. 54.
23. William's journal quoted in Philip II (1828) pp. 169-79. See also the official Memorandum signed by C. Bird, deputy colonial secretary, in Theal, Records of the Cape Colony XI (1815-18) pp.

309-16 ; A. Stockenstrom, Autobiography of Sir Andries Stockenstrom II edited by C.W. Hutton (2 vols., Cape Town, 1887) p. 98 et seq.

24. Holt (1954) pp. 68-77.
25. Holt (1954) pp. 74-9 ; Theal I (1908) pp. 263-9.
26. Williams, 14 April 1818, quoted in Holt (1954) p. 80.
27. Ibid., p. 81.
28. Ibid., pp. 81-2.
29. For an account of the burial and Mrs. Williams's departure see Philip II (1828) pp. 180-6.
30. Macmillan (2nd ed. 1964) p. 81.
31. Philip II (1828) p. 169.
32. Bird to Brownlee, 30 Dec. 1818, in Theal, Records XII (1818-20) p. 119.
33. Kay (1833) pp. 469-70.
34. Peires (1971) pp. 119-21.
35. For discussions and translations of Jolobe's poem see A.S. Gerard, Four African Literatures : Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971) pp. 74-6 : J.J.R. Jolobe in South African Outlook 1958 : pp. 170-2, and Poems of an African (Lovedale, 1946) ; Mahlasela (1973) pp. 30-3.
36. Other versions of this oral tradition include Falati (1895) p. 7 ; Mqhayi (1914) ; Nkonki (1968) pp. 122-4, 165-7 ; W.K. Ntsikana, "Imfazwe kaThuthula" (The War of Thuthula) in Rubusana (1966) p. 53.
37. The abduction is said to have taken place in 1807 : Moodie V (1838-41) pp. 15-16 ; Peires (1971) p. 114 n. 103. See also E. Mdlombe to Cory, 24 Oct. 1919 (MS 1855, Cory Library) who gives the date as 1797.
38. Ngqika was accused of abducting the wife of one of Ndlambe's councillors and of allowing his warriors to purloin Hintsa's prized blue-crane feathers : Brownlee in Thompson (1827) p. 444.
39. Peires (1981) p. 63.
40. This tradition is drawn from Bokwe (1914) pp. 20-21 ; C. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History, 1896 (2nd ed. Lovedale, 1916) pp. 339-40 ; Falati (1895) p. 6 ; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 14-15 ; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 9 ; Soga (1930) pp. 163-4 ; Theal I (1908) p. 271 ; Wauchope (1908) pp. 27-8.
41. Ngqika's address is given in Kropf translation (1891) pp. 15-16 ; Soga (c 1931) pp. 79-81 ; Wauchope (1908) pp. 27-8.
42. For descriptions of the battle see Kropf translation (1891) pp. 16-17 ; Theal I (1908) pp. 273-4 ; Wauchope (1908) pp. 28-9.
43. The plain was also known as Kommetjie Flats. See M.E. Barber, "The Commetje Veld of Kaffraria", Cape Monthly Magazine ns 9 : pp. 125-7, 1874.
44. Vilakazi (1946) p. 187, says that on the battlefield, the Nguni warriors always slit open the corpses of men whom they have slain so as to drive away their spirits. Otherwise they would haunt them and avenge their death.
45. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 10.
46. Falati (1895) p. 7 ; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) pp. 10-11.
47. Pringle (1835) p. 278.
48. Pringle (1835) pp. 277-8 ; Theal I (1908) p. 275. See also S.M. Molema, The Bantu Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1920) p. 100. For Somerset's version of these events see Somerset to Bathurst, 22 May 1919, in Theal, Records XII (1818-20) pp. 193-7. See also Stretch Diary.

49. Kropf (1915) p. 498 ; Wauchope (1908) p. 29.
50. Falati (1895) pp. 7-8.
51. i.e. people who protect with one hand and kill with the other : Kropf (1915) p. 393 ; Soga (c 1931) p. 345.
52. Theal I (1908) p. 276.
53. Pringle (1835) p. 281.
54. Lt. I Stocker, "Report upon Kaffraria", 1 March 1820, in Theal, Records XIII (1820-21) pp. 70-1.
55. Pringle (1835) pp. 285-6.
56. Ibid., p. 281.
57. ukukafula : to render warriors invulnerable by making them pass through the smoke of certain herbs and sprinkling them with the gall of certain animals given as offerings to the doctor : Kropf (1915) p. 177.
58. The best descriptions of doctoring an army are in Hunter (1961) pp. 406-10 ; Soga (c 1931) pp. 65-7, 173-5. See also Backhouse (1844) p. 245 ; Fleming (1853) p. 117 ; Hewat (1906) p. 51 ; Ross in Shepherd (1948) pp. 72-6 ; Warner in Maclean (1864) pp. 83-8. Cf. the Zulu customs : Samuelson (1912) pp. 39-43 ; and the Thonga : Junod I (1927) pp. 439-42.
59. umbopi means one who binds : Kropf (1915) p. 43. See also W.K. Kaye, "Kafir Doctors", 172c, Grey Collection, pp. 187-8. Soga (1931) pp. 174-5.
60. Pringle (1835) p. 281 ; Wauchope (1908) p. 36.
61. Alberti (1807) p. 90.
62. Cumming Papers, no. 438, South African Library, pp. 5-6 ; Moodie (1888) pp. 196-7 ; Pringle (1835) p. 282 ; Zaze Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 53 ; Wauchope (1908) p. 36.
63. Information on the battle is taken from Somerset to Bathurst, 22 May 1819, Theal, Records I (1818-20) pp 193-202; Stretch Diary which gives an eyewitness account (see also Cape Monthly Magazine, May 1876) ; Pringle (1835) pp. 282-3. For a discussion on traditional Xhosa fighting methods see Soga (1931) ch. 4.
64. Wauchope obtained his information from a number of close relatives who fought in the battle : (1908) p. 36.
65. Stretch Diary. For a general description of the women's role in battle see Hunter (1961) p. 408.
66. Wauchope's grandmother recalled how after the defeat at Grahamstown the soldiers shelled the thick bush where she and about a hundred other women and many children were hiding. She was wounded in the shoulder, narrowly missing the baby on her back : (1908) p. 37.
67. For a description of the military expedition and Nxele's surrender see Stockenstrom in Hutton I (1887) pp. 119-24 ; Pringle (1835) pp. 283-7 ; Somerset to Bathurst, 24 Sept. 1819 in Theal XII (1818-20) pp. 320-2, and Stocker's report in XIII (1820-21) pp. 72-5 ; C.L. Stretch, "Memorandum of Col. Willshire's operations in Caffraria during the year 1819", MS 14, p. 558 (Cory Library).
68. Alberti (1807) p. 91.
69. Quoted in Pringle (1835) p. 287.
70. Nxele was shipped to Cape Town on H.M. sloop Nautilus. For information on his imprisonment and death see C. Malherbe, "David Stuurman : "Last Chief of the Hottentots"" (unpublished MS, 1982) p. 10.
71. Kay (1833) p. 44 ; Pringle (1835) pp. 287-8 ; Theal I (1908) p. 280. Fourteen of the men drowned, twelve were recaptured, two

were killed by the commandoes and two escaped. As a result of this event the whaling station on Robben Island was closed by order of Governor Somerset.

72. Kay (1833) pp. 43-5.
73. Interview with Mdandala by G.E. Cory, Kentani district, 26 Jan. 1910, MS 113 (Cory Library) ; Bud-M'Belle (1903) p. 79 ; Kropf (1915) p. 504 ; Moodie (1888) p. 200 ; Theal (1882) pp. 199-200 and I (1908) p. 281 ; M.W. Waters, Fairy Tales Told By Nontsomi (London, 1927) p. 16.
74. Wauchope (1908) p. 37.
75. G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa VI (6 volumes, London 1910-30) p. 40 n.1 ; A.E. du Toit, "The Cape Frontier : A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866", Archives Year Book for South African History I (Pretoria, 1954) p. 213 n. 103.
76. Theal (1908) p. 281 note.
77. John William Gawler was ordained deacon in 1887 and was about 50 years old when he died : Obituary in Imvo, 18 September 1899. See also A.T. Wirgman, The History of the English Church and People in South Africa (London and New York, 1895) p. 74 n. 1.
78. Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1972) pp. 109-10.
79. Cumpsty (1980) pp. 66-7.
80. Brownlee to Mrs Williams, n.d., quoted in Philip II (1828) p. 190.
81. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 11.
82. Philip II (1828) p. 190.
83. Brownlee to L.M.S., n.d., quoted in Holt (1976) p. 73.
84. Wauchope (1908) p. 29.
85. M.N. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) pp. 62-3.
86. Philip II (1828) pp. 190-1 ; Matshaya in Bokwe (1914) p. 34. The Ngqika refuge was near the source of the Caha, in the mountains between the Caha and Koonap Rivers.
87. Cory I (1910-30) pp. 396-403 ; Peires (1971) pp. 183-5 ; Theal I (1908) pp. 283-4. For an African historian's point of view see Majeke (c 1952) pp. 22-3. The official report of the conference at the camp on the Gwanga, 15 October 1819, is given in Theal XII (1818-20) pp. 342-45.
88. Theal XII (1818-20) p. 344.
89. Bird to Brownlee, 30 Dec. 1818, and Somerset to Bathurst, 22 May 1819, ibid., pp. 118-24, 198-200.
90. Holt (1976) pp. 16-17.
91. Brownlee quoted in Philip II (1828) pp. 191-2.
92. Ibid.
93. Letter from Rev. J. Brownlee, Chumie Mission Station, 3 Aug. 1822, Report of the Glasgow Missionary Society : p. 19, 1823. See also Kropf translation (1891) pp. 19, 27.
94. Brownlee to Philip, Jan. 1822, Missionary Register : p. 15, 1823, quoted in Holt (1976) pp. 23-4.
95. Brownlee to Sir G. Grey, 24 March 1857, 158c, Grey Collection.
96. Matshaya in Bokwe (1914) p. 34. See also p. 27.
97. See for example Keller (1970) pp. 84-91 ; Williams (1960) pp. 275-82.
98. Two brothers of Tshatshu were among Williams's most energetic assistants.
99. T.B, Soga (1936) pp. 17-18. See also J.M. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 64.
100. I am indebted to Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe for identifying the clan relationships and social status of many of Ntsikana's

disciples.

101. The list of disciples is taken from Vimbe, p. 51, 2. Soga, p. 55, Balfour, p. 60, in Bokwe (1914) ; Mqhayi (1972).
102. Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 55.
103. Moyer (1976) p. 540. Keller (1970) has a useful section on patterns of conversion, p. 102 et seq.
104. An example of missionary teaching on salvation can be found in "The Way of Salvation by Jesus Christ" : Backhouse (1844) Appendix C.
105. Extracts from the Journals of Dr Vanderkemp and Mr Read after their settlement at Bota's Place, 1802, Transactions II, p. 87.
106. Kropf (1915) p. 362.
107 Falati (1895) pp. 9-10.
108. Interview with Rev. C. Kokoali, U.C.T., 3 April 1985. Igwijo is said to be derived from igwatyu, a national song, and igijo, a long thin stick carried by circumcized boys when dancing : Kropf (1915) pp. 139, 120. Nowadays a black Christian will adopt a verse of a favourite hymn as his igwijo and it is sung at funerals and other church occasions.
109. See for example Ephesians 1 : 3, 4, 9-11 ; 2 : 6, 10, 13, 22 ; 3 : 12 ; 4 : 2-13 ; 6 : 10. Specific links between Ntsikana's teaching and Paul's letter to the Ephesians can be found in his reference to the coolness of the faith of many and 4 : 17-19, the teaching of deceitful men and 4 : 14; retaining faith in the face of suffering and 3 : 13, 16-17; praising God and 1 : 6, 12, 14 ; 5 : 19; and the way to new life and 4 : 23-32. For further discussion : H. Berkhof, Christ and the Powers (Scottdale, 1962).
110. Alberti (1807) p. 49 note, and pp. 88-94. For information on Xhosa weapons see Alexander (1837) pp. 388-9 ; Fleming (1853) p. 108 ; Le Vaillant I (1790) pp. 229-30, 347-8 ; Lichtenstein II (1812-15) pp. 339-40 ; Paterson (1789) p. 93 ; Soga (c1931) pp. 77-9 ; Thunberg I (1795) p. 205. Cf. the spear symbolism of the Nuer : Evans-Pritchard (1956) pp. 233-47.
111. Kropf (1915) p. 129. See also Brownlee (1916) p. 348.
112. Opland (1983) pp. 117, 132-3.
113. Falati (1895) p. 10.
114. For an excellent analysis of early Christianity see J.G. Gager, Kingdom and Community. The Social World of Early Christianity (New Jersey, 1975).
115. Ngqika is said to have ordered his son Maqoma to select the site for the mission : Wauchope (1908) p. 32.
116. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 48. See also Brownlee, MS 158c, Grey Collection.
117. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 6.
118. M.N. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 59.
119. Falati (1895) pp. 10-11.
120. Wilson (1971) p. 34. See for example E.J. de Jager, "Notes on the magical charms of the Cape Nguni tribes", Fort Hare Papers 2 (6) : pp. 293-302, 1963 ; Hunter (1961) pp. 494-6 ; Lamla (1981).
121. Berglund (1976) pp. 350-1.
122. The prayer-movement of the late Mrs Paul of Tsolo in Transkei is a good example. She belonged to the Anglican Church : Pauw (1975) ch. 12.
123. Wilson (1971) p. 43.
124. M.N. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 59.
125. Vanderkemp, Transactions I, p. 398.
126. "Ibali" in Bokwe (1914) p. 46. I am indebted to Fr. A. Fischer

for this translation.

127. Berglund (1976) pp. 312-3.

128. Wilson (1971) p. 81.

129. II Samuel 11.

130. Pauw (1975) p. 207, observes that first generation Christians tend "to a more complete renunciation of the ancestor cult than present-day members of the orthodox churches, who are mostly second- and third- generation Christians".

131. Pauw's findings amongst the Xhosa Christians of today are that they tend to identify the Qamata of whom pre-Christian Xhosa were vaguely aware with God of church Christianity and that this has "given rise to a unitarian concept of God rather than a trinitarian one, and to the association of God with the ancestors": ibid., pp. 336-7.

132. B.Ntsikana (1902) p. 6.

133. Philip II (1828) pp. 187-8. The English translation does not quite correspond with the Xhosa version and there appears to be a line missing.

134. Kropf's version (translation 1891) p. 19, is as follows:
line 17. You are the lambkin that we needed
Line 18. The Lamb is the Messiah
Line 19. The Lamb whose hands are pierced
Line 20. His blood, oh why does it flow ?
Line 21. The blood is shed for us ?

135. M.N.Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 60

5. NTSIKANA'S HYMNS AS CARRIERS OF CHANGE : AN AFRICAN EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIANITY

An indigenous theology was born when Ntsikana added to the expression of the new religion in ritual the expression of the new religion in a language of faith. For him this conceptual aspect was the word of God and he articulated it in the form of preaching, prophecies, prayer and praise. Ntsikana's statement of Christian belief was in an African idiom and gained its impact by relating to the existential situation of his people. His hymns in particular show how the symbols and imagery which he used drew their power from being rooted in the everyday experience of the Xhosa and refer to such things as leadership, fighting, hunting, soil cultivation and pastoral practice. They became carriers of change when he gave them new meaning by planting them in the Christian context.

Over the centuries religious fervour among Christians has ever found expression in the singing of sacred songs. So it was that the revival at Bethelsdorp between 1814 and 1816 took the form of extended hymn-singing sessions. But the Dutch hymns were alien in style and language and did not express the innermost feelings of the Xhosa. Through his hymns Ntsikana was able to reach beyond the level of the intellect, to gain the emotional level of his people's consciousness, the level where cultural values are expressed most meaningfully. It was at this deeper level, where the Xhosa could express their Africanness, that Ntsikana gained his response. Tradition records : "Through this thing that had got into him two songs were revealed to him, and he preached the word of God and worshipped using these two songs. His neighbours were easily converted". (1)

It has been suggested that the music of Ntsikana's four hymns is so similar that there is reason to believe that they are in fact all manifestations of the same song. (2) Moreover, the literary style is in the form of a praise poem which is flexible and open to innovation. Thus it is quite feasible that as Ntsikana grew in faith so he added new sections and this is borne out by the development of his theology in the hymns. But historically they have been treated separately and for practicality's sake it is easier to follow suit. I also use Bokwe's orthography for historical reasons.

5.1. THE POLL-HEADED OR ROUND HYMN : INGOM' ENQUKUVA

The inspiration for the music of this hymn came to Ntsikana on the morning after his conversion and the chant with which it opens is the one which he repeated all day long. The words were added later and this in itself was a break with custom as in "traditional Cape Nguni music, melody and text are generally conceived simultaneously - the result of a single inspiration on the part of the preliterate songwriter". (3) Tradition claims that Ntsikana read the words of the hymn from the corner of his cloak, and that while singing it he would constantly point at the spot with his finger. (4)

The Xhosa title of the hymn is "Ingom' Enqukuva" which Bokwe translates as the Round hymn. But the word for round is inquva, (5) while inqukuva means poll-headed. The earliest version, as given by Falati, is as follows :

Behold the Great God
He came from over the Ocean, hom, hom, ihi,
hom, hom,

We went to Mankazana, hom, hom,
There the word was declared, hom, hom, ihi,
hom, hom,

We went to Twatwa,
There it arrived and was declared, ihi, hom,
hom, ihi, hom, hom, hom. (repeat) (6)

The hymn begins in the eulogistic style of a praise poem with God being praised like a chief. It goes on to narrate how the word of God was brought by the missionaries from over the sea and then proclaimed by Ntsikana in Xhosaland. Mankazana was of course the Great Place of Ngqika, and Thwatwa, Ntsikana's home. Here again the power of the word is linked with the mystical power of the sea; but whereas Nxele thought of this power thaumaturgically, Ntsikana presents it as the channel of God's grace. Bokwe transcribed the music of the chant in 1878, but he did not set down the words and music of the hymn until 1914. This is the form by which it is known today, except he uses the old orthography.

Ele, le, le homna hom homna,
Ele, le, le hom, hom, hom!

1. Latsho eGqora; hom, homna! Cibini le Ntonga, hom, hom!
2. Latsho kwaGaga; hom, homna! Nakwa Mankazana, hom, hom!
3. Lafika lateta; hom, homna! Ele, le, le homna, hom, hom!

Chorus : Ahom! homna, hom, homna! hom,
homna, hom, hom!

1. 'Twas proclaimed at Gqora; hom, homna!
Also at the Lake of Arms; hom, homna!
2. 'Twas proclaimed at Gaga; hom, homna!
Likewise at Mankazana; hom, homna!
3. There it arrived to speak; hom, homna!
Hallelujah. Amen, Hom, homna! (7)

According to Bokwe, Ntsikana would first chant the hymn as a solo before the congregation would join him in singing the parts and the chorus. This is typical of the pattern of a traditional song where the call and response of a leader and chorus makes up a cycle of music. The leader intones the first words and then the chorus takes up the refrain, either repeating some or all of the words of the main theme or else uttering monosyllabic ejaculations which can be meaningless such as "fa la la or ho ho ho". (8) In an illiterate society which has no recourse to books, the words and music of a song are soon learnt in this way and are just as easily transmitted from generation to generation.

Bokwe insists that the chant was quite distinct from the hymn and must not be confused with it. (9) Further, he argues that "Ele, le, le homna" sounds much like "Hallelujah, Amen". This would compare with the singing of these praises in choruses as in the Zionist Church. (10) Such a Christian connotation may be present but there are also strong links with Xhosa tradition. Kropf gives the meaning of Ele as on the other side, beyond, out of sight, lé as far, far away, and lé! as they came from afar, the meaning being determined by the tone in which the words are uttered. (11) isiHome can be used as a shout of praise. (12) Bokwe also suggests that the sound of Ahom is like the ringing of a bell and, in fact, the first notes of the hymn correspond with the notes of the bell-stones at Thwatwa.

In his location of the places at which the word was proclaimed, Ntsikana illustrates the need for a wandering people to mark and fix things. In the same way the stone cairns or izivivane are placed by the wayside as a location of belief. Gqora is the river where Ntsikana washed off the red ochre. Icibi le Ntonga, the Lake of Arms, and Gaga, a tributary of the Tyhume River, are probably places where Ntsikana heard Vanderkemp and Read preach. It has been observed that as the literal meaning of Gaga is a stony place, (13) that Gqora and inTonga refer to aggressiveness and fighting, (14) and that Mankazana could

refer to a loose woman, (15) the moral of hornlessness in the hymn is pointed in a quite indirect, metaphorical way. (16)

Faith is sustained by outward forms, things seen and heard, and hymns confirm the faith of those who sing them. As will be realized, hymn-singing is a powerful group-integrating force and the singing of distinctive songs has a ritual function in strengthening the solidarity of the new community. (17) Ntsikana's praise of God in song was one of his most radical innovations, but the symbolic ritual from which he drew his authority was still rooted in the past, providing continuity with the old tradition. One such example was his insistence that his disciples must "praise God unwearyingly" with his Poll-headed song. This can be seen to correspond with the traditional custom in which the praises of a chief are constantly reiterated in the conviction that this will not only win the chief's favour, but that the repetition of the praises has a ritual power of its own. (18)

5.2 NTSIKANA'S BELL : INTSIMBI KA NTSIKANA

This is the hymn Ntsikana is said to have used to call his people to worship. The versification in western style is Bokwe's doing. Earlier versions show that it was also in the form of a praise poem. (19)

1. Sele! sele! Ahom, ahom, ahom! 'Zani kuv' Iswi le Nkosi! Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom!	1. Sele! sele! Ahom, ahom, ahom! Come hearken, come hearken the Word of the Lord. Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom!
2. Sabelani, sabelani Niyabizwa ezulwini; Zani nonke zihlwele ndini kunye nani bantwanana Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom ahom!	2. Respond ye! respond ye! Respond to the Heavenly call Ye multitudes come, and all ye children come! Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom!
3. Libiyelwe langqongana Izwe lobawobenu.	3. it has fenced in,it has surrounded, This land of your

Owoliva ngowolikaula!	fathers, He who obeys it by re-sponding will be blessed.
Ahom, ahom, ahom!	Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom,
Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom!	ahom!
4. Sele! sele!	4. Sele! sele!
Ahom, ahom, ahom!	Ahom, ahom, ahom!
Sabelani, sabelani	Respond ye! respond ye!
Niyabizwa ezulwini!	To this call that comes from Heaven,
Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom!	Ahom, ahom, ahom, ahom, Ahom!" (20)

Sounds have great significance in Xhosa as it is a tonal language; but it is difficult at this distance in time to determine what meaning the chant of "Sele! Ahom!" had for Ntsikana. It could have been used in a particular way to address one on high, or it could refer to some idea of power on high speaking through the elements. (21)

The name of the hymn is derived from the chant in the opening lines which is said to resemble the ringing of a bell. Bokwe maintains that the exclamation "Sele!" must be equated with "Ahoy!" in English, while the chiming of Ahom is a softer imitation of "Ding-dong". Hansen argues that as Sele accompanies the high notes in the melody it denotes a bell with a high tone, and Ahom, a bell of lower pitch. (22) As we have noted, tradition maintains that Ntsikana summoned his followers to worship by striking a bell-stone in the same way that a piece of iron was used by the missionaries as a church bell. One of the bell-stones can even be played like an uhadi bow to accompany the hymn. When struck it produces two major chords a whole tone apart through overtones (or harmonics) which are heard when the stone is truck in certain places. (23)

The pattern of call and response in the hymn is again typical of the traditional song cycle. In Bokwe's translation there tends to be a reading in of Christian content which serves to mask the underlying thought-world on which Ntsikana based his ideas. His use of the Xhosa God-name iNkosi (verse 1, line 3) for the Christian God is an example of an old symbol being given new content. The use of izwi (in the same line) for "the word" is another significant carrier of change. Izwi was used in Xhosa to denote something heard : a sound, noise, word, message.

(24) Ntsikana gave izwi a Christian meaning. But it is evident from the oral tradition that the continued preference of his disciples for the term "word of God" instead of Christianity, was because of the importance to them of hearing the word. For them the word of God was a long way from the good news of the missionaries. The power was in the word itself, not just the Christian story that happened a long time ago. It is a biblical image that finds expression in Isaiah (55 : 11). The coming of Christianity was seen by Ntsikana and his disciples as the coming of more words of power. This is what impressed them and this is what they related to.

A literal translation of verse 2, line 2 is "you are being called in the above". The meaning of ezulwini is the above in the sense of the expanse between heaven and earth, the firmament. (25) As already shown, Ntsikana developed a spatial sense which facilitated an understanding of the transcendence of God. Thus ezulwini was used as a carrier of change to denote the Christian concept of heaven.

"It" in the third verse refers to the word of God. Ilizwe means a country or region, not the wider world, and is therefore particularistic. (26) Ntsikana's teaching is that the word has spread from the first few places he mentions in the Poll-headed hymn to embrace Xhosaland as a whole. The inference is that people have consequently been brought together in a new form of association.

Lines 3 and 4 in the third verse can be translated to give a much deeper insight : "He who shall hear it will be he who will conceive it". "Conceive" is used as in the conception of a child in the womb. (27) The suggestion is that those who receive the word will give birth to something new, i.e. new life, because of the power of the word in itself. It is a seed which will fertilize the one it enters and they will conceive. This is a real symbol of indigenization because Ntsikana is talking about the word brought by the missionaries as now producing fruit in Xhosaland through his disciples.

As in the Poll-headed hymn, the location of belief in the Bell is a major theme; but Ntsikana now adds the challenging new ideas of direct communion with God together with a personal commitment. His inclusion of children in his call shows missionary influence as traditionally young people did not take an active part in the ritual life of the community until after their initiation, and even then their role was insignificant.

The differences between Bokwe's version of the Bell and that of Burnet Ntsikana stem mainly from their different Christian convictions as expressed in their

English translations, rather than in any intrinsic differences in the content. Whereas Bokwe is particularistic and compares with such aspects of the Jewish tradition as "your father Abraham", Yahweh for God, and "you are a chosen people", Burnet's version is universalistic and compares with such aspects as "your father Adam", Elohim for God expressing the power of God, and "the whole world is in His hand". The Xhosa version as given by Burnet differs in its style as a praise poem, in the different ordering of the lines (which is typical of izibongo), and in orthography, but not much in content. (28) Vimbe's version, which dates from 1888 and appears to be the earliest, corresponds closely with that of Burnet. (29)

5.3 CREATOR OF LIFE : DALIBOM

Having introduced the concept of God as Creator of Life in the Bell, Ntsikana now develops it as a central theme in his teaching.

1. He! Nankok' u Dalibom ; Wases'kolweni.
2. He! Nankok' u Dalibom ; Os'bizesihleli.
3. He! Nankok' u Dalibom ; Wasinga pezulu.

1. See! there stands the Life-Creator ; He of the School.
2. See! there stands the Life-Creator ; Who calls us to rise.
3. See! there stands the Life-Creator ; He has ascended. (30)

This hymn is another example of how the techniques of the traditional lyric can be adapted to the composition of hymns. The repetition of a praise, in this case of God as Creator of Life, is typical of izibongo. Dalibom (uDal'ubom) derives its meaning from uMdali, creator, and ubomi, life or vigour, (31) which refers to those still living, i.e. of the flesh, not of the world of spirits or ancestors.

God as Creator of Life is an evangelistic concept which represents a radical move from the traditional idea of the background God who created the world and then retired, to God who is actively drawing men to a new life. This notion has social as well as religious implications because it carries with it the idea of forming a new group

with a new way of living, much as the Hebrews banded together during their wandering period. The symbols of new life for the Poll-headed are evident in their regular worship together, prayers, hymn singing, discarding their weapons and washing off red ochre.

In the first line, "the one of the school place" apparently refers to Williams's work at Kat River mission. The inference is that he came to teach us about the new life and proclaimed God with authority. But its connotations could also include all those who have identified themselves with the school and its teaching, and have experienced spiritual renewal. Years later the abandoned mission station became known as the "Old School". (32)

Os'bizesihleli in the second line denotes that "he calls us unmindful". (33) It is a passive phrase meaning that we are sitting down, not stirring ourselves. The reference to rising might be that we should stand up and start living the new life enthusiastically now instead of merely existing in the old ways, or it might be a spatial concept of rising to the above, which would link with the next line.

Wasinga pezulu can be translated "he went in the direction of, or ascended to, the above". This could literally refer to Christ's ascension or else to somebody who has shown us the way by going ahead of us, like Williams. The teaching in this hymn liberates us from the present to ascend to something else, whether it be literally heaven or something new in terms of what we believe. (34)

Burnet Ntsikana's version of the hymn is again more universalistic as against Bokwe's particularism. In his translation he takes the idea of being of the school a step further to relate specifically to the community of Christians. He also has an extra line at the end in which God is depicted as creator of the heavens, showing a more cosmic consciousness and providing a link with the ideas which are developed in the Great hymn. (35)

5.4 THE GREAT HYMN : ULO TIXO OMKULU

5.4.1 Conception and Transmission

One modern strand of the oral tradition claims that the Great hymn was conceived at the wedding dance which Ntsikana attended on the day of his conversion. (36) Another maintains that it was composed at the time of his vision in the cattle byre. It is said that the hymn was

written in characters on the tailbrush of the ox, Hulushe, and that Ntsikana read it off there and then. (37) Be that as it may, it is quite usual for iimbongi, praise poets, to claim inspiration from dreams. Opland notes that the dream inspiration to produce poetry is common in poetic traditions throughout the world. Some iimbongi have likened their experiences leading up to the original creative impulse to the ukuthwasa process in the calling of a diviner. Field-work has indicated that they frequently produce their oral poetry in "an ecstatic, trancelike state of inspiration". (38) The only evidence from Ntsikana's disciples, however, is that the Great hymn was revealed to him through "the thing" that had entered him. (39)

An analysis of the hymn will be used to show how Ntsikana's interpretation of the new in terms of the old found its most profound expression in his poetry. But first it is necessary to see how the hymn was transmitted in order to tie it firmly to Ntsikana himself and so establish it as the main source of his teaching. Whereas the other traditions concerning him are manifestly open to historical criticism, there is no problem of authenticity with the Great hymn. There is sufficient evidence to show that even though it has been recorded in a number of different versions, it is one oral tradition that can stand up to historical scrutiny.

Although the hymn was first reduced to writing the year after Ntsikana's death in 1821, and was transcribed in various forms over the following century, its spread and significance continued to be oral because of its currency among non-literate people. (40) What is more, its oral transmission has continued up to the present, independent of the written versions, in much the same way as a praise poem is transmitted by being handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation and with similar transpositions of content but without any significant changes. The fact that the different written versions emerging at different points in time in the oral transmission show little modification of significant content testifies to the integrity of the transmission process.

In my discussion of oral sources, reference is made to the way in which the Ntsikana tradition was preserved by his disciples after his death in the context of their daily worship. His story was their only sermon and no other hymns but his were sung. (41) When the disciples joined Brownlee at Chumie station, they incorporated the singing of the Great hymn into the daily worship of the mission. Both the Wesleyan missionary, Stephen Kay, (42) and the

1820 settler, John Philipps, (43) reported hearing them sing "the song of praise, set to their native airs" during their respective visits to Chumie in 1825. Before long the hymn was enjoying wide currency throughout Xhosaland. This is confirmed by Brownlee, who gives something of the history of the hymn, and whose support undoubtedly facilitated its spread. Referring to Kat River, he said,

> The singing of the Mission Station was confined to a few who knew something of the Dutch language. Sikana, to meet this defect, made an effort to arrange some of the ideas he had acquired into a Hymn. This he sung in an easy chant composed also by himself and this (was) used in their religious worship. It was soon sung in many remote places in Kaffirland and after at the Mission Stations. (44)

Another Wesleyan missionary, William Shaw, who first heard the hymn at Chumie in 1822, (45) records its use in the Wesleyan Methodist mission field from the beginnings of their work in Kaffraria, (46) as did John Ayliff (47) and Cowper Rose. (48) By the late 1820s Kay was reporting that it was frequently being sung by the Xhosa in every place which the gospel had as yet reached. (49)

John Bennie, who was sent by the Glasgow Missionary Society to join Brownlee at Chumie in 1821, soon had a working knowledge of Xhosa. (50) He appears to have been the first to transcribe the Great hymn but no copy remains. In a letter to the G.M.S. dated 20 March 1822, he apparently enclosed "specimens of the Caffre language, and also part of an original poem, composed some years ago, by a native who had acquired some idea of our religion from a Christian Colonist". Of the hymn and the twenty-third Psalm, part of which he had translated, Bennie said : "The real Caffres, the best of the people, I believe, sing these lines with more understanding than they could possibly sing the Dutch hymns, formerly in use amongst them." (51)

John Ross, another G.M.S. missionary, who came to Chumie on 16 December 1823, brought a small printing press with him from Scotland. Two days later the first printed Xhosa reading sheets were run off. (52) By the end of 1824, Bennie had started work on "an extended and systematic vocabulary of the Kafir language" and this was printed two years later. (53) At last the Xhosa language was reduced to writing and it seems that the first published versions of the Great hymn date from this time. Pringle, who first heard the hymn from some "Christian

Caffres" who visited him at his home at Glen Lynden in 1825, maintains that he published it the following year in the New Monthly Magazine from a copy which Brownlee had given him. (54) In fact he is mistaken with the date and it appeared in 1827, not 1826, the same year that it was published by Brownlee himself. (55) Brownlee's version is given below with his own free translation :

1. Ulin guba inkulu siambata tina,
2. Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,
3. Umdala uadali idali izula,
4. Yebinza inquinquis zixeliela :
5. UTIKA umkula gozizuliné,
6. Yebinza inquinquis nozilimele.
7. Umze uakonana subiziéle,
8. Umkokeli ua sikokeli tina,
9. Uenze infama zenza ga bomi :
10. Imali inkula subiziéle,
11. Wena wena q'aba inyaniza,
12. Wena wena kaka linyaniza,
13. Wena wena klati linyaniza :
14. Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,
15. Umdala uadali idala izula.

1. He who is our mantle of comfort,
2. The giver of life, ancient on high,
3. He is the Creator of the Heavens,
4. And the ever-burning stars :
5. God is mighty in the heavens,
6. And whirls the stars around in the sky.
7. We call on him in his dwelling-place,
8. That he may be our mighty leader,
9. For he maketh the blind to see;
10. We adore him as the only good,
11. For he alone is a sure defence,
12. He alone is a trusty shield,
13. He alone is our bush of refuge :
14. Even HE, - the giver of life on high,
15. Who is the Creator of the heavens.

The ordering of the lines as given here is quite different from that by which the hymn is generally known today; but considering Brownlee's personal connection with Ntsikana and his disciples it is undoubtedly authentic. Balfour confirms that "the big blanket" originally came in the first line. (56) In his publication of the hymn in 1828, Dr John Philip describes how Ntsikana taught it to his disciples : "Sicana was a poet, as well as a Christian,

and though he could neither read nor write, he composed hymns, which he repeated to his people, till they could retain them upon their memories". (57) Rose, who heard the hymn sung at Wesleyville at this time, records that the first four words of each verse were repeated by a single bass voice, while all, males and females, joined in the remainder. (58) Bokwe confirms the antiphonal singing of the hymn in his account : "(Ntsikana) would chant the first two bars in a loud voice and then the people would join in repeating the words line by line." (59)

Although this method of singing facilitates memorization, oral transmission is ever susceptible to human error whether it be lapses in memory or the independent addition of new variants, while mistakes in transcription compound the problem, the more so when a foreign language which is in the process of being reduced to print is involved. William Kobe, Ntsikana's eldest son, claims : "Not all the parts (Ntsikana) was singing were written down. Other big parts have been left out". (60) This is borne out by the missing sections which I have already identified concerning the Lamb, Messiah and David. Another line which does not appear in any published version is a praise of God as the "cliff of truth". (61) Variations in the ordering of the lines and differences in orthography add to the difficulties when trying to trace the history of the hymn's transmission as so many different factors could be involved.

The most significant factor in the earliest transcriptions concerns the Christological section found in Pringle (1827) and Philip (1828). Pringle records obtaining his Xhosa version from Brownlee, (62) yet Brownlee omits the four lines referring to Christ as the Holy Lamb and his sacrifice on the cross. Rose (1829) and Kay (late 1820s) follow Brownlee with minimal differences, (63) while Steedman (1835), who heard the hymn at Wesleyville, follows Pringle. (64) The plot thickens when we follow the publication of the hymn in the earliest hymn-books, although there is no certainty as to when it first appeared in this form.

Bennie's hymn writing dates from 1826 when five of his compositions were printed in a limited edition. This first hymnal did not include the Great hymn. (65) What are thought to be the earliest hymn-book versions are in two undated fragments, one at least having been printed by the G.M.S. at Chumie. (66) The earliest dated mission publication of the hymn is in the Wesleyan book of songs in 1835, where it takes pride of place as no.1 showing its popularity with the first Xhosa converts. (67)

The Wesleyan mission version differs markedly from all the previous publications in the ordering of the lines and approximates the form by which it is generally known today. What precipitated the change is a matter of conjecture. Transposition of lines is typical of the oral transmission of praise poems. It could also have been a transcription error or else a deliberate move by the transcribers to give it a more natural flow or sequence. The praise, "He is the Great God, who is in Heaven", was moved to the opening line to precede the metaphorical allusions to God in the following praises. The change in orthography reflects the latest developments in the study of the Xhosa language. William Boyce, a Wesleyan missionary, had recently published his discovery of the euphonic or alliterative concord, "the secret of Xhosa", and this revolutionized the writing of the language. (68) Another Wesleyan linguistic scholar, John Appleyard, published a slightly revised version in 1850 and this has been widely quoted since. (69)

The Wesleyan version of the hymn of 1835 is closest in content to that of Philip, except for the addition of a number of lines. (70) The omission of the praises of the Lamb as the Messiah in the revised edition of 1839, and all subsequent editions, could have been due to doubts about their authenticity or because they had been forgotten in the oral tradition from which the hymn was later transcribed. (71) But as I have argued, it was more likely due to theological and missiological considerations. Opland makes the important point that the hymn was preserved by the missionaries, precisely like the analagous seventh-century English Cadmon's hymn, because it exploited the tradition to incorporate the new beliefs. Although in some respects the hymn is traditional, it nonetheless makes a profound statement of Christian doctrine. The missionaries had control of the printing presses and their didactic principles excluded the publishing of purely traditional poetry for the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. (72) But even though the Great hymn gained their acceptance, they had the final say in shaping its form for publication.

The first dated version of the hymn in the G.M.S. hymnal is in Bennie's collection of 1839. The hymn is no.1 and with one exception it remained in this position in later editions. The original ordering of the lines is somewhat different from the Wesleyan form, the most obvious distinction being that it starts with "Unguwena wena, Kaka lennyanisa - Thou art thou, shield of truth". Differences in content include the omission of four lines and the

addition of two new ones. The one : Ulohlanganisa imihlambi eyalanayo - He, who gathereth flocks opposed to each other" became a fixture. But the other : "Ulo-Bawo wetu osezulwini - You are our Father who is in Heaven", which shows a likely influence of the Lord's Prayer, was later dropped. According to tradition, Ntsikana's last words on his deathbed were that he was going home to his Father, which testifies to this understanding of God. (73) The authenticity of both lines is further supported by the fact that his disciples were living at Chumie when the hymn was printed there, and that his younger son, Dukwana, assisted with the printing. The deletion of the one line again raises the question of the openness of oral transmissions to modifications as transmissions. The fact that both lines are missing in a Lovedale manuscript dated 1839 illustrates how variations can arise even within the same publication unit at the same time. (74)

The Xhosa hymn-book Incwadi Yamaculo AmaXosa : Ase Rabe (The Hymns of the Xhosa : Rabe people), which has been used over the years by the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church, the missions to the United Free Church of Scotland and related bodies, was first printed at Chumie in 1850. (75) But the press was destroyed during the war three years later and Chumie was abandoned. With the establishment of a printing press at Lovedale in 1861 all subsequent copies of the hymn-book were printed there. From 1864 on the G.M.S. publication of the Great hymn took the Wesleyan form and the now familiar opening line, "Ulo Tixo omkulu, ngosezulwini - He, is the Great God, Who is in heaven", became entrenched in this position. (76)

John Knox Bokwe was the first to publish the Great hymn with its music, in Isigidimi samaXosa, in November 1876. (77) As with the words, the music had been handed down in the tradition. His version of the words is the same as that which is generally found in the hymn-books and its re-publication by him in a number of different sources over the next forty years helped to stabilize the text. It is given below in the old orthography which he used, with his translation :

1. Ulo Tixo omkulu, ngosezulwini;
2. Ungu Wena-wena Kaka lenyaniso.
3. Ungu Wena-wena Nqaba yenyaniso.
4. Ungu Wena-wena Hlati lenyaniso.
5. Ungu Wena-wen' uhlel' enyangwaneni.
6. Ulo dal' ubom, wadala pezulu.
7. Lo Mdal' owadala wadala izulu.
8. Lo Menzi wenkwenkwezi noZilimela;

9. Yabinza inkwenkwezi, isixelela.
10. Lo Menzi wemfaman' uzenza ngabom?
11. Lateta ixilongo lisibizele.
12. Ulonqin' izingela imipefumlo.
13. Ulohlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo.
14. Ulomkokeli wasikokela tina.
15. Ulengub' inkul' esiyambata tina.
16. Ozandla Zako zinamanxeba Wena.
17. Onyawo Zako zinamanxeba Wena.
18. Ugazi Lako limrolo yinina?
19. Ugazi Lako lipalalele tina.
20. Lemali enkulu-na siyibizile?
21. Lomzi Wako-na-na siwubizile?

1. He, is the Great God, Who is in heaven;
2. Thou art Thou, Shield of truth.
3. Thou art Thou, Stronghold of truth.
4. Thou art Thou, Thicket of truth.
5. Thou art Thou Who dwellest in the highest.
6. He, Who created life (below), created (life) above.
7. That Creator Who created, created heaven.
8. This maker of the stars, and the Pleiades.
9. A star flashed forth, it was telling us.
10. The Maker of the blind, does He not make them of purpose?
11. The trumpet sounded, it has called us.
12. As for his chase He hunteth, for souls.
13. He, Who amalgamates flocks rejecting each other.
14. He, the Leader, Who has led us.
15. He, Whose great mantle, we do put it on.
16. Those hands of Thine, they are wounded.
17. Those feet of Thine, they are wounded.
18. Thy blood, why is it streaming?
19. Thy blood, it was shed for us.
20. This great price, have we called for it?
21. This home of Thine, have we called for it? (78)

With regard to the use of the hymn by other church bodies, the Berlin and Moravian Societies are a curious exception in not including it in their hymn-books. J.L.Döhne, who pioneered the Kaffrarian mission of the Berlin Society in 1836, (79) published a copy of the hymn eight years later in his work on Kaffraria and its inhabitants. (80) In addition, the Berlin Society missionary and renowned Xhosa linguist, A. Kropf, focusses on the hymn (with a German translation) in his account of Ntsikana in 1891. He emphasizes that the hymn has been

widely published in different mission hymnals, that it is loved by the Xhosa and is often sung at their services. (81) Yet he does not include it in his hymn-book of 1856, nor in the later edition of 1886. (82) Neither is it in the Moravian hymn-book compiled by Bonatz in 1856. (83)

The Anglican Church, however, has incorporated it in their collection of Xhosa hymns since 1875, (84) and it is also found in the hymn-books of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, (85) the Church of Christ Mission, (86) the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (87) the Seventh Day Adventist Church, (88) and a recent edition of the Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika. (89)

The Roman Catholic Church has made use only of the chant "Sele, Sele" in their Xhosa hymn-book. (90) But since 1980 Lumko music department has taken up the promotion of Ntsikana's hymns and they have been widely sung at mass to the accompaniment of marimbas and the uhadi bow. (91) As far as the Zionist Churches go, they do not usually have their own hymn-books and tend to sing a number of favourite songs. In the Ciskei they often include the Great hymn in their repertoire. (92) Bishop Limba's (Bantu) Church of Christ sing Ntsikana's hymn regularly at the close of its services. (93)

This study of the transmission of the Great hymn is of particular importance in that it provides what may be a unique example of the history of the oral and written transmission of a piece of literature by a known African author over a century and a half. This is significant in that most oral literature in Africa has tended "to originate anonymously or to become anonymous in a very short space of time". (94) This was partly due to an innate conservatism that tended to resist innovation. Indigenous literature was also hampered in its growth by its dependence on oral transmission. Added to which, if individual compositions did last they generally became absorbed into the collective body of folklore and the authors' names were usually forgotten. Not so with Ntsikana's Great hymn. Its preservation was assured in that it not only found an immediate response among his disciples, but that it was also promoted by the missionaries and was written down not long after its composition. The exact date is not known but it must have been composed some time between 1816 and 1821. The last few years of Ntsikana's life are most likely after he had come under Williams's influence. Transcriptions were made from 1822 on. The origin of the hymn is therefore sufficiently well documented to leave no doubt as to its authorship.

In his discussion of the propagation of traditional literature, Lestrade maintains :

> There is a tendency to vary the original content and form of such pieces, to adapt them to various circumstances, to change them about with the passage of time, to lay them aside and to revive them only in much-altered guise, so that after a while there is no saying how far a piece may be altered out of its original version. (95)

The timely transcription of Ntsikana's hymn helped to contain the normal elasticity of the oral tradition to a certain extent. Even so, it underwent extensive oral transmission independent of the written word and, as shown, variants arose over the years. By examining the hymn in its historical context we find it possible to indicate some of the reasons for these variants; such as transposition in the arrangement of lines typical of the oral transmission of a praise poem, lapses in memory during transmission, the possible reading in of Christian content by Xhosa converts, theological and missiological considerations in selection by the transcribers, and errors in transcription. Although there is some uncertainty about the authenticity of a number of the lines, there is no doubt that the main body of the hymn is the work of Ntsikana and can be regarded as an authentic statement of his faith. (96)

Opland has made a fascinating comparative study between Ntsikana and the Anglo-Saxon oral poet, Cadmon, whose literary career has been placed roughly between the years 660 and 680. According to Bede, Cadmon had a dream one night while minding cattle in a stable. At the insistence of a voice he began to sing a hymn in praise of God the Creator. When he awoke he remembered all he had sung and soon added more verses to the hymn. The comparison with Ntsikana's Great hymn is remarkable. Cadmon was persuaded to enter a monastery. Although illiterate, he was able to memorize the teaching of sacred history and, after a period of meditation, turn it into "the most melodious verse". Opland concludes that Cadmon may well be the first Anglo-Saxon "to extend a native tradition of eulogistic poetry in praise of chiefs and kings to poetry in praise of God". He is thus seen as possibly being a crucial transitional figure, "in that his poetry embodies the happy marriage of an essentially sacred tradition of vernacular eulogy to the new Christian theology". (97) The similar role of Ntsikana among the Xhosa is seen when we

take a closer look at the form and content of his Great hymn.

5.4.2 A Poem of Praise : a Literary Analysis

Writing about "the Kafir Language" in 1850, Appleyard commented on the paucity of Xhosa literature. (98) Although he noted that there were "war and other songs", he failed to discover the wealth of traditional poetry which is in the form of dramatic and lyric verse, and praise poems. (99) This Eurocentric view of indigenous literature was followed by other early missionaries and, in commenting on Ntsikana's Great hymn, they invariably likened it to the psalms. (100)

This is a valid comparison in that the hymn is a song of praise, and that traditional African poetry has much in common with Hebrew poetry. In both, rhythm is achieved through the technique of parallelism and repetition. (101) Ntsikana expressed the new language of faith in the mode of a praise poem, rather than in an adopted foreign style, so using the old form of eulogy for the new content. This was easily accomplished for, as Jordan says, "The idiom style and technique of the traditional lyric are easily adapted to new conceptions". (102) He cites the Great hymn as his example and then goes on to describe its historical significance as the first Xhosa literary composition "ever to be assigned to individual formulation - thus constituting a bridge between the traditional and post-traditional period". (103) The distinction of the hymn is that it is the earliest Xhosa poem of known authorship and is a transitional form used to express new ideas. (104).

The term ukubonga as defined by Kropf means "to praise, extol loudly and impromptu by songs or orations; to praise, magnify, laud, and celebrate the deeds of a chief, or the feats of racing oxen, or the valour of an army." (105) Before his conversion Ntsikana was a celebrated singer and orator. Praise poetry was part of his background and, in turning to God, this medium of expression provided a natural outlet for articulating his new faith, the more so as the recitation of praise poetry is regarded by some as a form of prayer. (106)

Like the imbongi, (107) Ntsikana always wore his leopard-skin robe when singing his hymns; and, just as the imbongi gave honour and homage to his chief with his praise poetry, so did Ntsikana sing God's praises using the imposing epithets and highly figurative language typical of izibongo. He sought to be the mediator between God and the

"believers", uniting them as a worshipping group through his hymn singing. It is significant too that the imbongi would praise his chief daily, at daybreak and sunset, the times of Ntsikana's services.

In form a praise poem "consists of a succession of what may be called loose stanzas of an irregular number of lines, each line containing a varying number of words." (108) The Great hymn follows this form of poetic construction, significantly the only hymn in the Xhosa hymn-books to do so. Under the influence of mission education, Xhosa hymn writers adopted the English literary techniques including versification. But whereas Ntsikana modelled his hymn on izibongo, he gave this old form new meaning by using it in praise of God.

The theology of the hymn is said to be "unimpeachable". (109) But despite its seemingly Christian content it is far more African than it looks. Brownlee has described it as "Scriptural clothed in Kaffir dress". (110) In the background we have got a traditional world view and the meaning and symbols are being drawn from that. But there is an overlay of Christian teaching which illustrates the way the new language of faith which Ntsikana is articulating is in a transitional stage. The direction is to give the words and action a Christian meaning but they draw their power to hold their hearers from their roots in the Xhosa tradition. The meaning of the words can be changed so as to have Christian connotations and acquire an aura of reverence, and so can the manner in which they are sung, but the sound of the words and the way they are used, ie. the ritual, carries with it the authority of past religious tradition and this authority is carried over to the new meaning. (111) We have a parallel here with Christianity as recorded in the New Testament where Jesus is presented in terms of the Messiah to the Jews but as "Logos" to the Hellenistic world or as the one who overcame the fates to the less philosophical Gentiles.

Language is a powerful force in stirring people's feelings. As Oosthuizen has indicated with reference to story-telling among the Xhosa, for them language has "not merely an intellectual but also a rich emotional function. Language transmits not merely thoughts and ideas but also impressions and emotions; through words the concrete reality is vividly experienced". (112) Moreover, the Xhosa language has an unusually rich vocabulary and complex morphology which can be used "to express the finest distinctions and most delicate shades of meaning". Highly figurative forms of expression are a feature of izibongo,

they being employed "to convey abstract ideas in a vivid and imaginative way". (113) In his Great hymn Ntsikana makes skilled use of picturesque terms and a subtle play on words, which although it is conveying something new is interpreted in terms of the familiar, and has the power to generate a strong emotional response in all who sing it.

Writing about Xhosa izibongo, Opland says they "are not just poems of praise : They deal in both praise and censure as twin aspects of truth telling, or soothsaying. Izibongo are eulogistic poems built from a system of commemorative phrases and general references that operate in society as alternative names; they are an expression of, and an integral part of, the veneration of the ancestors". (114) In the same way Ntsikana's hymn is a eulogistic poem built up of a sequence of praise-names which depict God as Creator, Protector and Defender. Again, just like the izibongo, the qualities and achievements of God are balanced by criticism, which if not exactly explicit is implied in his questioning of Christ's passion. The licence to criticize has links with the court fool in Europe and the prophet in biblical times. As with the praises of a chief, wide use is also made of allusion and imagery, more especially metaphor. But Ntsikana not only uses the tradition of izibongo to praise a new chief : (115) God has replaced the ancestors as the focus of veneration so that the religious context itself in which the poem finds its expression and meaning has changed radically.

Ntsikana's use of metaphor will be discussed fully in the analysis of content; but from a literary point of view Qangule has some interesting observations. (116) In an izibongo the praises succeed each other without any fixed order. As has been shown in the transmission process of the hymn, the praises are interchangeable; but in its present form the objects on which the metaphor is built - kaka (shield), ngaba (stronghold or fort), and hlati (forest) - assume an ascending order of cultural and religious significance. Of note, too, is the way in which the metaphor is "strengthened" by the possessive construction that follows it, i.e. kaka lenyaniso (line 2), ngaba yenyaniso (line 3), hlati lenyaniso (line 4). The use of metaphors such as a shield or a place of refuge is typical of this form of poetry.

Other typical traditional literary devices used by Ntsikana to magnify God include the use of the identificative copulative eg : "Ulo Tixo - Thou art this God" in line 1, and "Ungu wena-wena - Thou art the very one" in lines 2 to 5. This syntactical construction is

used in a statement to identify God. There is also the use of the demonstrative of the first position, Lo (This), for emphasis in lines 6, 7, 8, 10 and 21, eg : Lo Mdal', Lo Menzi, Lo mzi. In Xhosa it is always employed to a given entity. Another common literary technique is the use of selected synonyms, eg : ngosezulwini (heaven) in line 1, enyangwaneni (the highest) in line 5, and pezulu (above) in line 6, for the location of God in the above. These different words have the same semantic import.

The use of compound words is another literary device favoured by praise-singers and followed by Ntsikana to give greater variety of expression. It is said that "these help to arouse the readers' feelings and appeal to their visual and auditory powers". (117) This is well illustrated in Ntsikana's poem where he refers to God as "the very one", wena-wena, in four consecutive lines (2 to 5).

This brings us to parallelism and repetition which are prominent characteristics of izibongo, and the Great hymn is characterized by a repetition of some semantic or syntactical slot. In addition to compounding there is the repetition of the identificative copulative in lines 1 to 5, and the repetition of the predicative statements, e.g. dal'ubom and wadala pezulu in line 6, and owadala and wadala izulu in line 7. Praise singers like piling up words, saying the same thing over and over again in infinite variation. This is effective in emphasizing an idea or creating suspense. It may also add to the ritual power of the words. Opland argues that izibongo have power because of their ritual character : "In essence a series of names, an izibongo can conjure the presence of those named and ensure their sympathetic intervention in the affairs of the living". (118) The imbongi's poetry about a sacral chief thus serves a ritual function in ensuring "the well-being of the chiefdom by ensuring the protective sympathy of the chief's ancestors". (119)

Parallelism in izibongo can be found in meaning as well as in the use of words. Sometimes the repetition is not exact but, as Finnegan notes, "the repeated phrase has something added to it, thus leading to progress in the action". (120) In lines 1 to 8 Ntsikana uses the various types of repetition as a magnifying device to enhance the image of God. Again in lines 16 to 19 parallelism and repetition are used effectively to develop the theme of Christ's suffering on the cross.

Rycroft observes that with regard to metre, fundamental differences can be cited between practices in song, where there is often "a merciless distortion of length for metrical ends", and izibongo, "where such things

as regular "feet" are not to be found but, rather, the natural rhythm of speech". (121) Opland defines rhythm as "a harmonious arrangement of words not counted according to regular metre but by the number of syllables judged orally". (122) Ntsikana achieves rhythm in his use of the rhythmic quality of the Xhosa language as well as through parallelism and repetition.

In this section I have tried to show how Ntsikana drew on the old in Xhosa literature to give authority to that which was new, the traditional literary form of oral poetry being used as a carrier of change. From the textural point of view there were also significant changes. The Xhosa izibongo is always a solo performance and is generally delivered in a rapid rhythmical style as a poem. In contrast, it would seem that the Great hymn was composed as a song and has always been sung by a group in the typical cyclical form of Xhosa music where a single musical sentence is repeated over and over again. We now turn to an examination of the content of the hymn to show how Ntsikana used traditional images as carriers of change as well as incorporating entirely new concepts drawn straight from the Christian tradition. This exemplifies the dynamic tension between old and new in the dialectical process of religious change. Above all else the hymn is an example of a whole tapestry of symbolic relationships which are enmeshed within the monistic world view of the Xhosa. I will be exploring patterns in the tapestry to show how the interweaving of symbolic relationships enriches the understanding and interpretation of Ntsikana's theology.

5.4.3 Analysis of Content
Lines 1 to 5

Tradition relates that when Ntsikana preached he would point saying "this great God is the one who is in heaven". (123) Bokwe's rendering of the opening line, "Ulo Tixo omkulu, ngosezulwini" as "Thou art this God who is great, thou art the one who is in heaven" is a more formal translation showing missionary influence. (124) "This" is used by Ntsikana rather than "the" to give the more exact meaning of "the one close to me". What he is trying to do here is to bring God into sharper focus. There is a suggestion of contrast too, with God being shown to be far greater than the spirits and located in heaven as distinct from any other place. As we have already seen, Ntsikana's concept of heaven indicates his development of a sense of the transcendence of God.

In the next three lines Ntsikana draws on imagery

relating to war to symbolize God as Protector and Defender. The second line reads : "Ungu Wena-wena Kaka lenyaniso - Thou art the very One, the' True Shield". The literal translation is shield of truth, but this is clearly an idiomatic expression for true shield. iKaka refers to the ox-hide shield carried by Xhosa warriors into battle as protection against the assegais of the enemy. (125) The shield was oval in shape, about four and a half feet in length and of sufficient width to cover the body. The warriors were required to provide their own shields and these were kept in a special hut at the chief's Great Place. (126) The shield not only gave protection in a fight, but when set on edge it provided shelter at the fireside from the wind and was a roof under which a man could sleep in the field. To frighten their adversaries, the Xhosa would spring about shaking their shields and beating them with their knees. But the shields were no protection against a musket ball from a British gun; and they were eventually discarded as an ineffectual defence. (127)

What Ntsikana is saying here is that God is not like an ox-hide shield which is easily penetrated by British firepower. He is the one real shield which protects you against all adversity. This links with Ntsikana's whole idea of putting on the armour of God as found in his Poll-headed imagery. The many praises of God as a shield in the psalms, for example, (128) would have found resonance with the customary praises of a chief as a shield. There is also the idea of God as a shield for all those who take refuge in Him. (129) But even though Ntsikana's teaching appears to have made use of biblical passages which related to his own way of life, because of language difficulties it seems unlikely that he drew on similar symbolic expressions in the divine titles of the Pentateuch, such as "Shield of Abraham" for Yahweh. (130) The image of "Shield of Truth" is probably more closely related to the New Testament understanding of God and would correspond with Bokwe's more developed grasp of Christianity.

The third line continues with the theme of God as Protector but also develops the idea of God as Refuge and Defender : "Ungu Wena-wena Ngaba yenyaniso - Thou art the very One, the True Stronghold". Again Bokwe prefers the idiomatic expression "Stronghold of Truth" which would seem to have Christian connotations of a later date. The figurative meaning of ingaba is "inaccessibility, firmness; fastness, stronghold, fortification". (131) In other words it is a refuge where you are safe from attack. The Xhosa

had seen the small stone forts built by the British soldiers for their protection in the frontier district, two having been built in the Ceded Territory after the Fifth Frontier War. But they would be more likely to think of their own strongholds, the caves and mountain fastnesses.

In the wars between clans and chiefdoms, conflict would be provoked by taking the enemy's treasure, their cattle. These were captured in broad daylight and it was not theft as understood by many white historians. It was a challenge, to test the strength of a newly formed army. In the Amatole mountains, especially near Pirie, the cattle were hidden away in a large cave. However, the word for cave is umqolomba, (132) so that in this instance Ntsikana is more likely thinking of the sort of mountain stronghold in the Winterberg where his people took refuge after Anmalinde. Ntsikana is saying that such places of refuge are as nothing compared with God. Only he can give you real shelter. There is also the idea here of defence, of God as a stronghold to ward off what threatens or to repel an attack. This links with Ntsikana's charge to his followers to cast away their assegais and sing God's praises as their sure defence. Once more the psalms invite comparison with God seen as a stronghold in times of trouble. (133)

The same themes are found in the next line : "Ungu Wena-wena Hlati lenyaniso - Thou art the very One, the True Forest". In this instance "Forest of Truth" must be idiomatic. The literal meaning of ihlati is forest, but it can also be used figuratively as "a hiding place; refuge, protection, stronghold". (134) Kaffraria had a thickly forested region along the Amatole range, which served as a natural fortress. The women and children would flee to the forest for protection in time of war. Ndlambe was another who took refuge in the forest after the abortive attack on Grahamstown, so evading capture by the retaliatory forces, while in 1825 Ngqika is reported to have spent most of his time hiding in the heart of a dense forest because he feared being taken prisoner by the colonial authorities. (135)

Previously the Xhosa had fought their battles on an open plain without bushes to provide cover for a surprise attack; (136) but after their repulse at Grahamstown they changed their strategy and launched a guerilla type of war from their forest strongholds in the mountains. They frustrated all efforts by the colonial authorities to dislodge them through their superior knowledge of the terrain, and the British had to resort to scorched earth tactics to starve them out.

To the Xhosa the forest signified the place where they were safe from attack and from where they could best repel their enemies. By means of a metaphorical shift, therefore, "forest" takes on two meanings : a place of refuge and a place of defence. Ntsikana's understanding is that God is the true forest who will always be the nation's protection and defence.

There is also the consideration that some forests were regarded by the Xhosa as sacred places because they were burial places of their chiefs or because of mystical associations. Ntaba kaNdoda was sacred to the Rharhabe and only certain people were allowed into the forest there. (137) Ntsikana's use of forest in this context could be a linking of God with the traditionally sacred as well as being a refuge. What is happening here is that elements of natural and sacred experience with particular points of reference are being taken up into a concept of God which is both transcendent and universal.

The idea of a chief being a protector and defender was integral to Xhosa thinking and izibongo abound with metaphors comparing them to rocks and forests. Xhosa youths had a game in which some were hunters and others wild animals. A piece of ground was marked off and called "the bush" (a translation from the Dutch for "forest"). Anyone representing an animal could gain breathing time if he managed to reach "the bush" where he was safe from attack. If the son of a chief was present, a small area round him was "the bush". This idea was taken up in the wars with the whites, much to their disgust, when the chief himself became the bush. He would declare he was a man of peace and was "sitting still", while his people fought, supposedly out of his control. But as hunters they would bring him the spoil, and as hunted they would go to him for a breathing space. (138) When the missionaries came they in turn were cast in this protective role by some of the chiefs. Ndlambe and Phato are both said to have welcomed the coming of the Wesleyan missionaries to settle among them with the understanding that they would be their "bescherm bos", i.e. their forest of refuge and defence. (139) In the hymn, therefore, Ntsikana is using the traditional concept of sanctuary as a bridging symbol between old and new, God replacing the chief as "the bush" or "forest". This could well indicate a familiarity with the biblical notion of sanctuary found especially in the story of David.

One of the missing sections in the hymn is said to be the praise of God as "iliwa lenyaniso - the True Rock or Rock of Truth". Iliwa literally means a place for falling

down, a place descending perpendicularly, i.e. a cliff, precipice or krantz. (140) But the connotation is not so much falling down as being difficult to climb. It is a rock face up which baboons and other animals make good their escape, hence the idea of impregnability. In the old days the people would flee to the krantzes for protection. The image of iliwa occurs frequently in oral poetry. Apart from its association with refuge, it can also connote the skill of a man in solving difficult problems, i.e. he has ability to do things other people cannot do as, for instance, to negotiate a cliff. (141) Once more there are biblical parallels with the idea of God as rock and fortress, (142) and with the divine title of "Rock of Israel". (143)

Burns-Ncamashe, an imbongi himself, observes that the Xhosa oral poet makes use of familiar imagery such as rocks, rivers, forests, mountains and animals, to convey ideas which ordinary people would not normally notice. Battle imagery also features in the early izibongo as it was a time of war. Thus Ntsikana's use of figurative language in relating God to the traditional milieu would have been readily comprehended by his people, the more so as his focussing on imagery relating to war and the need for protection of a displaced people was directly applicable to their immediate experience. In the present form of the hymn there is an apparent progress of ideas as in izibongo : a shield protects one person, a stronghold protects those few that it can contain, a whole army can hide in a forest, while the cliffs in the mountain fastness are the ultimate retreat.

There is a parallel to the patriarchal situation with an emphasis on salvation being translated to here and now. The patriarchal wanderings would have had a particular appeal to the Xhosa as they were the nearest possible experience to their own; but as I have indicated, it is doubtful whether Ntsikana was much influenced in his mode of expression by missionary teaching on the subject. Certainly the way he addressed God as the one who is great is in the style of the patriarchs, but, as we have seen, it is equally typical of the formal praise of a chief. (144) Yet the parallel with the song of David in II Samuel 22 : 2-3 (Psalm 18 : 2-3) is so strong as to suggest familiarity. This song was composed by David in praise of the Lord for delivering him out of the hands of his enemies, in a situation very similar to that in which Ntsikana found himself. It begins :

The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my

> deliverer; The God of my rock; in him will I trust : he is my shield and the horn of my salvation, my high tower, and my refuge, my saviour; thou savest me from violence.

Ntsikana's fascination with the figure of David would support some connection, yet the source of the symbols is at least as much traditional as biblical. At any rate a comparison of this imagery would have appealed greatly to later generations of Christians as they became more familiar with the Bible. As Sundkler has stressed, "The Old Testament in the African setting is not just a book of reference. It becomes a source of remembrance". (145)

In Bokwe's version of the hymn ihlati is translated as "thicket". This brings with it connotations of the thicket where the ram was caught in the Isaac sacrifice. If the idea is taken further, as this being the place where there is the first symbol of God providing a sacrifice for us, then it would have a strong link with the sacrificial section of the hymn. On the other hand, Appleyard's use of "bush" in his translation could be associated with God's call to Moses from the "burning bush". In both cases the translators seem to be making the biblical link, not Ntsikana. The use of "forest" is much nearer to the Xhosa experience than either "bush" or "thicket" with their Christian bias.

Line 5 of the hymn reads : "Ungu Wena-wen' uhlel'enyangwaneni - Thou art the very One who is living in the expanse of the heavens". The repetition of the ideas in line 1 together with the development of the theme are typical stylistic traits of izibongo.

The modern usage of enyangwaneni is for the Christian concept of heaven. Kropf defines inyango (locative, enyangweni) as "a store for corn in the form of a small hut erected on poles; fig.a place of safety; height, high defence, tower". There is also an association with the place of the departed, amanyange, defined by Kropf as "the people of old, elders, ancestors". (146) Although in the olden days the afterworld was thought to be below ground, records of prayers offered at the grave at a funeral show that the spirits of the ancestors were also believed to be in the above, enyangweni, where they could look down on what was passing below. (147) This was the realm of Qamata too. However, it was a high place rather than a spiritual place as is shown by the ritual supplication of Qamata from a hill or mountain top in times of drought or national disaster.

As we have seen, this ritual is still carried out by

Xhosa today with Christians adding new associations and practices to it, such as the singing of the Great hymn. The strong links with Ntsikana suggest that he himself developed the ritual supplication of Qamata in the direction of Christian belief and practice by drawing on the familiar particularistic connotations associated with enyangweni as a high place to give authority to the unfamiliar universalistic concept of God being associated with a spiritual place called heaven. Xhosa Christians came to believe that their ancestors were some where in the unseen world, enyangweni, where they not only watched over their offspring, but where their closeness to God allowed them to intercede on their offspring's behalf as a councillor would do in a chief's court. (148)

Nowadays, Ntsikana's grave and the bell-stones at Thwatwa have become places of pilgrimage. When there is a prolonged drought, Xhosa Christians come together with their red brethren in the area and the coloured people from the local kraals to ascend the hill to pray for rain. A bell-stone is rung, and all present take part in praying in their own manner and in singing Ntsikana's hymns. It is claimed that the ritual never fails to bring rain, the expectation being that it will cloud over before they have said the last "Amen". (149) Similar services are held at Ntsikana's grave up the valley, which can be regarded as an adaptation of the traditional ritual associated with the burial places of chiefs. (150)

Again there are biblical parallels. Ntsikana's praise of God in the fifth line of his hymn can be compared with the divine titles of patriarchal religion such as El Elyon, "God most high", and El Shaddai "the One of the Mountains" (of Shaddai), i.e. God of a high place which is often translated as "God Almighty". The parallel cannot be taken too far, however, as there is nothing in Xhosa traditional religion to compare with "the practice of entering into a personal relationship or "covenant" with deity" which, as one of the main characteristics of patriarchal religion, was a foundation stone in the formation of the covenant community. (151)

Lines 6 to 9

The sixth, seventh and eighth lines of the hymn consist of a series of praises of God as Creator. The style continues to carry with it the authority of the past, but the idea of God as Creator of Life is a development of the ideas which Ntsikana had introduced in his earlier

6. Ulo dal' ubom, wadala pezulu.
7. Lo Mdal' owadala izulu.
8. Lo Menzi wenkwenkwezi noZilimela;

6. Thou art the Creator of Life on earth, you created above.
7. That Creator who created, created the heaven.
8. This Maker of the stars, and the Pleiades.

There is a progression of ideas here with Ntsikana telling his people that God not only created everything that we see on earth but that creation also took place above and that He created this place called heaven. In a time of transition we do not expect a clearly defined concept of creation. Nor do we expect heaven to be clearly defined. It is the outer limits which hold everything in place and keep chaos at bay. In his praise of God as creator of heaven, Ntsikana is affirming God's majesty and power, and his ability in fact to look after us. The interest is in particularism. He is the God who has the whole world in His hand. Life for people in transition is a present experience and is still more texture-orientated than goal-orientated. Evangelization has to do with feel or texture, as with traditional African religion, and so it is the here and now part of salvation that meets a deep-felt need.

In the eighth line, Ntsikana's depiction of God as the Maker of the stars and the Pleiades is part of the description of heaven as the Xhosa would have understood it; but heaven is no longer just a backdrop. There is a transition here to a spatial concept. The fact that Ntsikana specifically mentions the Pleiades suggests that he is drawing on traditional Xhosa thought-patterns which associate the reappearance of iSilimela each year to herald the Xhosa new year as a symbolic link with the earth as the source of new life, and with new life in man as symbolized in the coming-out ceremonies of the initiates in the circumcision school at this time, (152) with the concept of new life in God which is central to his teaching. Any underlying meaning would be secondary though, as Ntsikana is emphasizing the creation of the stars, and the reference to iSilimela appears to be primarily due to their great significance to the Xhosa.

The cosmological theme is continued in line 9 but now the reference is to a particular star which is conveying a message : "Yabinza inkwenkwezi, isixelela - A star flashed

forth, it was telling us". Ntsikana's use of inkwenkwezi vividly conveys a crackling sound which is associated with the flashing movement of the star. The difficulty here is to determine his meaning for there is no indication as the hymn now stands as to what the star signified. The Xhosa are accustomed to interpret any strange sign in the heavens as omens, imihlola. (153) As with other African people, an eclipse of the moon, shooting stars and comets are generally regarded as bad omens, often presaging the death of a chief. (154) Ntsikana could have been referring to an omen which warned of an important event as, for example, the coming of the word of God. He could also have been speaking metaphorically, the star being such a person as Vanderkemp. But line 9 is generally regarded as a biblical reference to the Star of Bethlehem heralding the birth of Jesus. This would be confirmed if we accept Wauchope's evidence.

In Wauchope's account of Vanderkemp's teaching (chapter 2), he includes a praise poem which corresponds with part of the Great hymn except that there are three additional lines :

> There was one, Sifuba-sibanzi,
> (The Broad-breasted one)
> He is the leader of men;
> Was heralded by a Star.

Ntsikana's use of Sifuba-sibanzi for Christ will be discussed in relation to his prophecy about the last things, in the next chapter. Taking this into consideration it seems highly likely that these lines are yet another missing section in the hymn. The links with Vanderkemp are significant if we remember that he presented God as Creator and Defender, and that the concept of new life in God was integral to his evangelical presentation of the gospel.

Line 10

Line 10 continues with the theme of God as Creator but it introduces the problem of theodicy. This focusses on protest against pain and suffering and is directed against God. If the great God creates, why are there imperfections? This questioning implies criticism which is typical of the role of an imbongi or a prophet. As stated by Ntsikana : "Lo Menzi wemfaman' uzenza ngabom? - The maker of the blind, are you doing this on purpose?" Or as Bokwe puts it less forcefully, "does He not make them of

purpose?" In some versions there is no question mark but this would have been a very pertinent question to Ntsikana. As already shown, the cause of Ngqika's recurrent eye ailment was a contentious issue between the "believers" and the traditionalists with the chief vacillating between the two camps. With two religions in competition the question is, "who can do the most for us here and now?" If the answer is a loving God, then why the suffering? The corollary to proclaiming a powerful God who is caring about us is the problem of justifying God in the face of continuing suffering. Why when we become followers do things not immediately come right? For the wandering Israelites in the wilderness this was put down to their lack of faith and their evil ways. Having got into the promised land and continuing to suffer at the hands of the Midianites, Philistines and Canaanites, they confronted the situation in which the promise seemingly does not come to fulfilment. In the Book of Judges, which describes this period, the prologue contains a theodicy which comes to be known as the Deuteronomic Theory of Retribution. (155)

Ntsikana's reaction to Ngqika's illness shows that initially he had much the same conception of theodicy; but his own developed response to suffering was submission to the will of God. In Xhosa society, a child born blind would be taken to the amaggirha to determine the cause, and all sorts of treatment would be prescribed, to no avail. Ntsikana is telling his people that blindness is not the work of a witch or sorcerer. It is the will of God. God is the creator of all sorts and conditions of men including the blind. But if one follows through with the Christian message, there is also the healing power of Jesus Christ which restores sight to the blind so that they can see, and in seeing follow, and in following glorify God. Blindness can also be used spiritually in the sense that all men are blind. They live in a spiritual world which they cannot see properly until God opens their eyes, just as Paul's eyes were opened on the road to Damascus. (156) What the previous line could be telling us then is that God is calling us all with a sign to give us sight.

As we have seen, the idea of God as Creator, Protector and Defender in the first half of the hymn is easily understood in terms of traditional Xhosa thought-patterns. So too is the second half which is concerned with the notion of Jesus as a largely human figure who made a great sacrifice. The only problem is that because the lines referring to him by name have all been omitted, the interpretation relies on inference and is therefore open to debate.

Lines 11 and 12

Line 11 reads : "Lateta ixilongo lisibizele - The trumpet sounded, it has called us". Ntsikana would have been familiar with the trumpet used by the British soldiers but it is more likely that he is continuing to make use of traditional images. Kropf defines ixilongo as "a hollow reed or the hollow pedicle of a pumpkin leaf; any wind instrument, a trumpet". (157) Le Vaillant (1790), Barrow (1801) and Alberti (1807), all remark on the dearth of Xhosa musical instruments. They describe a bow played by Khoi and related people, but among the Xhosa proper they could only find "a miserable kind of flute" made of the bone of some animal, which was sometimes used for calling cattle. However, Campbell (1815) describes a "kind of flute" made from some animal's thigh bone, "with which they give notice to each other of various affairs, such as when a meeting of the Kraal is desired". (158) This is confirmed by Kirby, an authority on African musical instruments, who maintains that animal horns have long been used by the Nguni as signal trumpets. (159) An antelope horn was the oldest type but it was replaced by an ox-horn, upondo. There was the isigodlo or war-trumpet too. (160) All these horns were apparently termed ixilongo. They were blown as a trumpet with the sounding of two tones. (161)

Traditionally, therefore, the horns were used to call the male subjects of the chief together for a meeting at the Great Place or to go to war. Horns were also used for signalling in hunting and by boys in herding cattle. (162) In addition, horns were sometimes used at weddings, (163) which is of interest seeing that the music of the Great hymn has been linked with umdudo or wedding music. Whistles have the same uses for signalling as horns, and are also used by traditional doctors in their divination practices.

In every instance the sounding of the trumpet signifies a call to action. In the hymn it can be understood in a number of different ways. Used figuratively it could be a call to conversion following up the theme of calling in the Poll-headed hymn and the Bell. Christ can also be conceived as the trumpet and it is he who has called us, or the trumpet could be the hearing of the word of God.

According to Burns-Ncamashe, the Xhosa word for "call", -bizela, has traditional connotations which give

its use in this context a very powerful meaning. The Xhosa believe that the "People of the River" have a supernatural power to draw people into the deep waters to come and live with them. The word ukubizela denotes the uncontrollable, irresistible force which will make a person rush straight into a river until he sinks below the water. In line 11 of the hymn, God is conceived by Ntsikana as having the same power. The trumpet is no ordinary instrument : it has the magnetic power to draw people to God. (164) There are many biblical references to which the trumpet can be linked. Joshua and Jericho immediately spring to mind but the references associated with the apocalyptic message would have the most relevance, for example Matthew 24:31, 1 Corinthians 15:52 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. The description of the signs in the heaven, such as falling stars, to be seen in the last days, which are found in Mark 13:25, Luke 21:25 and Revelation 8 and 9, would be the sort of omens with which the Xhosa were familiar and would link with line 9 in the hymn. Once again, though, while the biblical associations would appeal to later generations of Christians, they should not be overworked with respect to Ntsikana. At the same time, he might well have had some understanding of the idea that when the trumpet sounds men will be made whole. This would link with line 10 in that the blind would receive their sight. In the hymn it says that the trumpet has already sounded which suggests that the last days are already on us. The question in line 10 is then answered.

Another concept associated with the last days is judgement. In a recording of the Great hymn made by Hugh Tracey in the 1950s at a red blanket wedding in the Peddie district, there is a reference to "Ulo mgwebi wagweba, wagweba ngabom - It is the judge who has judged, he judges with purpose". (165) The singers claimed that Ntsikana's hymn was based on an old country song, hence its use at a traditional wedding. In the recording there are numerous interjections such as Hamba and Phaya which make it difficult to follow the words but the line referring to judgement appears to be the only new variant. It could relate specifically to the wedding context by denoting that the bridegroom has judged well in the choice of his partner. However, here again we may have one of the missing lines. Judgement could also be included in the messianic role of Christ together with such references as Messiah and Lamb in the other missing sections.

The idea of the trumpet sounding leads naturally to the next line which has to do with hunting : " Ulongin' izingela imipefumlo - Thou art the hunter who hunts the

souls of people", or as Bokwe puts it, "As for his chase He hunteth, for souls". Here again Ntsikana exploits his environment. Formerly the Xhosa were a hunting people. Besides being a favourite pastime, hunting provided most of their meat and trade goods such as skin, horns, teeth and ivory. The Kaffrarian countryside abounded with wild animals such as elephants, lions, leopards, antelopes, buck, hares and wild-fowl of every description. Hippopotami were found in the rivers. As the game surrounding a settlement became scarce so the people would move to a new area where it was abundant. (166)

Hunting was a communal affair and at the sound of the horn and the cry of zingela (hunt), (167) the men would come together under their chief ready for the chase. But hunting was not merely a sporting pastime. In a monistic world view it was one way in which man related to nature. There is thus a mystical significance implicit in Ntsikana's hunting metaphor. Before a hunt a man would abstain from sexual intercourse, purify himself and observe certain food taboos. The hunters and their dogs would also be treated with various medicines and rituals would be enacted. This was all part of ensuring a right balance and distribution of vital forces in relating to nature. Failure in the hunt was construed as being out of harmony with nature.

Soga describes two forms of hunting practised by the Xhosa. An ordinary hunt lasting a day was called ingina (inggina), while ipulo could last anything from a few days to a month. The hunting methods depended on the quarry and the game could either be clubbed to death, speared, trapped or driven into pits. (168) There is a strong association of ideas between hunting and the forest, where the hunt took place, so building up these metaphors in the hymn. But Ntsikana takes the spiritual dimension in his hunting metaphor a step further by expanding it to include the hunting of souls. This is a synonym for saving people and the question is why did he choose imiphefumlo (imipefumlo) for the Christian concept of soul : what did he have to choose from and what would this word have meant to his people?

The traditional Xhosa notions of the spiritual components of man could not be neatly compartmentalized into western categories of thought, and there was no clearly defined concept of body and soul. (169) Alberti's findings (1807) that the "existence of the soul" was immediately destroyed at death was a western conceptualization. (170) More typically Hunter's work among the Mpondo in the 1930s showed that the people did

not know what part of the body became the ithongo (spirit) after death, but thought it might be associated with umphefumlo (breath). (171) Nowadays many Xhosa associate the spirit of the ancestor with umphefumlo and with umoya (air and wind), but there is no certainty. People often speak of death as giving up the breath to the wind. (172)

A recent study by Malan distinguishes three basic components in the Xhosa view of man : a body, umzimba, a soul, umoya, which is synonymous with umphefumlo, and a spirit, isithunzi. (173) Kropf defines isithunzi as shadow, (174) but it can also be understood as personality or, in Tempels's terms, as vital force. It can be compared with seriti among the Sotho-Tswana which Setiloane understands as "the dynamic force which is the essence of each being". (175) Kropf translates umphefumlo as "breath, breathing principle; the soul of man". (176) Bigalke prefers the term "life principle". His findings, with reference to a study of the religious system of the Ndlambe, are :

> while ... "breath" is admissable when we are talking about air being drawn into and expelled from the lungs, it would be begging the question to use the word "soul" to translate the Xhosa word when it is used in the sense of the constituent of the body which is particularly associated with the ancestors. It would also involve the risk of imposing Christian metaphysics on Ndlambe conceptions.... The separation of the life principle occurs at death or shortly afterwards .... It is this life principle, in the form of a related entity, umoya, which has ascended to "the above" (ezulwini) and becomes an ancestor. (177)

In his study of the "soul-concept" among the Nguni, du Toit notes that the spiritual entity of a living person is thought to be able to leave the body at will and often does so during sleep. The umoya is not bound by time or space and may visit or interact with spirits of the departed. Hence the importance of dreams. As a man grows old his shadow is said to grow shorter and this is a sign of approaching death. The short or real shadow is buried with the deceased but the long shadow is believed to leave the corpse and become a spirit. (178)

It is evident that imiphefumlo, umoya and isithunzi

are closely inter-related in Xhosa thought-patterns. As in Hebrew, Greek and Latin thought, so in Xhosa the word Ntsikana chooses for soul, imiphefumlo, has the root meaning of breath. But then, as with the Xhosa, it meant more than this; and although Ntsikana uses the nearest Xhosa equivalent for the more clearly defined Christian concept of soul, one cannot press the Christian notion too far. As I have said, what Ntsikana has picked up from missionary teaching is the idea of saving people, and it is this aspect that is paramount. Nonethless, imiphefumlo has continued to be used for soul while umoya is used for Spirit.

It seems that through Ntsikana the word ingina, a hunting party, acquired yet another new symbolic meaning. It can also be translated as "the foot or hoof of an animal; an impression or mark left by the foot of an animal". Kropf gives the figurative meaning of this as "the footprint of a man, the distinctive features in his character or teaching which can be seen and followed by others". More specifically ingina came to be used in this sense as "ndilanda ingina lika-Ntsikana - I am following Ntsikana's footsteps". (179) Thus it was that one of the earliest names of the Ntsikana Memorial Church, which was founded by Ntsikana's great grandson, Burnet Gaba, was Icawe yeNgina, the church following in the footsteps (of Ntsikana). (180) It is quite possible that the other meaning of ingina as "witness, one who testifies to, or attests a fact" is derived from Ntsikana too as it seems to have decidedly Christian connotations. Godparents, for instance, are called amangina. (181)

In the hymn there is also the possibility that ingina is being used metaphorically to refer to Ntsikana as the one who is following in Christ's footsteps, or it might be Ntsikana himself who is the hunter, searching for followers of the word of God.

Lines 13 to 15

The ideas contained in line 12 are carried through to the next line with a further development of the theme following the progress in action of a praise poem : "Ulohlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo - You are the one who gathers flocks together which reject one another". This line had a chequered career. It first appeared in the Glasgow Missionary Society version of the hymn in 1839, but was omitted in the 1864 edition of their hymn-book. However, Bokwe included it in his publication of the hymn in 1876, and it subsequently reappeared in the G.M.S.

hymnal of 1888 as well as in the hymnals of other Societies from that time on. Why the line was dropped for so long is not known, but Bokwe's use of it would have given it authority. Moreover, it rings true for the idea of unity was integral to Ntsikana's teaching. By the 1880s the deterioration in relations between black and white would have made line 13 a particularly pertinent issue among the missionaries. The need for reconciliation had never been greater, hence the wide response to its reinstatement in contrast to the other missing lines.

In his use of traditional symbolism in the hymn Ntsikana has already drawn on the popular images of war and hunting. He now turns to the familiar pastoral image of "flocks". This term has biblical associations with goats and sheep; but for the Xhosa cattle had a greater symbolic significance. Horses were of less importance as they were the prerogative of chiefs and councillors. (182) In fact the word umhlambi, which is translated as "a flock" of sheep or goats, is also used for "a drove" of cattle and "a troop" of horses, as well as "a crowd" of people and a "corporate body" of men. (183) Ukwalana means "to reject one another, lit. they opposed, resisted him; they were not in harmony with him". Kropf translates line 13 as "the Gatherer of the opposing herds". (184)

When the animals were taken out to graze each day the different groups were kept apart. Similarly, at the homestead they were kept in separate kraals to prevent their clashing. In his hymn Ntsikana says that in God things are changed for he reconciles and brings together such opposing groups. In his day this could have referred to the warring chiefdoms in Kaffraria, as well as to the conflict between black and white on the frontier. It was also relevant to the friction between the "believers" and their traditionalist countrymen.

The idea of reconciliation was a familiar image in Xhosa society, linking as it does with the African sense of inclusiveness and interrelatedeness. On the ritual level, cattle played an important role as the medium of reconciliation. The passage of cattle united different lineages in marriage, while the ritual killing of cattle served to restore broken relationships and to reconcile the living with the dead. On the social level, the Xhosa were used to absorbing strangers and enemies into their midst through intermarriage and patron-client relationships. On the political level, it was customary for emissaries to negotiate peace terms on behalf of warring chiefs.(185) But the Xhosa knew only too well that the reconciliation of men was short-lived. The good news that Ntsikana brought is

that there will be a lasting peace in the coming kingdom of God, and this is the theme of his prophecy about the last things (chapter 6).

In Ntsikana's earlier hymns he is concerned with locating God by naming places in Kaffraria where His word has been proclaimed. God is understood as caring for a particular people over against their enemies. In the Great hymn there is a transition from particularism to universalism. Transcendence has ethical connotations and, linked with a spatial concept, God is now understood as being the uniter of all people everywhere through Christ so that reconciliation becomes universal. Since Ntsikana's time the meaning of umhlambi in line 13 has come to include "the flock" of Christ, i.e. the converts to Christianity. (186)

In line 14, Ntsikana goes on to show that God is not only leading us to a new life through Christ now, but that he has been our guide since time immemorial : Ulomkokeli wasikokela tina - You are this Leader, who has led us". Ntsikana has in mind here the type of leader with whom his people were familiar : the chief, headman and homestead head, who were as much religious as political figures. In their role as the officiator at ritual killings these leaders functioned as mediators between man and the powers above. It was but a short step to understand Christ as the sort of leader who mediates with God.

Burns-Ncamashe suggests that Ntsikana's use of the word tina is a kind of royal "we". It is an idiomatic expression commonly used by Xhosa and Ntsikana is actually referring to himself. He could thus be understood as saying that, in Christ, God is the leader who has led believers like himself on to the right path. At the same time God is understood as being the greatest of all leaders throughout the ages, whether man knew him or not. This praise of God is again typical of the izibongo of a chief where "the quality of firm leadership is praised or encouraged, and its antithesis is decried". (187)

Further links can be drawn in the mesh of symbolic relationships in the hymn between chieftainship and forest, in this instance with the elephant as mediating symbol. The Xhosa classify animals according to the realm to which they belong : the forest, the river or the homestead. (188) The elephant belongs to the forest; but although it is the most powerful of the forest animals it is ambivalent as it is not a carnivore like the others. The elephant is a symbol of chieftainship, with the chief wearing ivory arm-bands, while the elephant's tail is attached to a pole at his capital. (189) Hammond-Tooke comments that such

symbols of chieftainship might be associated with sympathetic magic, the powerful and the fierce wild animals conveying courage and power. (190) More importantly the royal insignia provide a mystical link between the most powerful animal in the forest and the most powerful man in the homestead. (191) The understanding of chief as "true forest", as discussed in line 4, therefore takes on a further dimension.

As we continue to explore patterns in the symbolic tapestry of the hymn, the threads keep leading us back to certain key images which thus provide a framework of interpretation. So for example, the elephant symbolism also links chieftainship with hunting, as discussed in line 12. The installation of a chief was preceded by an elephant hunt. In his description of such a hunt in the 1820s, Kay records that the warriors actually called the elephant "the Great chief" as they stabbed the animal again and again with their spears. They removed only the ears, tusks and tail, the flesh of the animal not being eaten. Elephant tusks were always the property of the chief, being awarded as a sign of his favour. (192)

In line 15 Ntsikana turns to a common domestic image : the ingubo or cloak. Added to the idea of protection is the deeper meaning of coming to a closer union with God, through Christ, who is the great cloak : "Ulengub' inkul' esiyambata tina - You are the great cloak with which we clothe ourselves", or in Bokwe's words, "He, whose great mantle, we do put it on".

Here again the symbolic associations between chieftainship and cloak enrich our understanding. The leopard-skin cloak of the chief was another symbol of his mystical power, and leopard-skins were also his statutory property, being awarded only to his favourites. (193) The installation of a chief was accompanied by a complex body of rituals to ensure a right relationship with the powers above. In addition to being treated with various medicines, a leopard-skin cloak was put on him by his people together with the royal necklace of red beads, (194) and ivory arm-bands. The chief was not merely being given status; it was the people themselves who were responsible for installing him in a ritual act. Ntsikana's idea of "putting on" the cloak could have similar connotations. Just as the Xhosa accept the chieftainship by putting on the royal insignia, so do we accept Christianity by putting on the cloak of Christ. (195) Such a bridging of symbols is confirmed by the fact that among the first Xhosa converts conversion was associated with the putting on of a new cloak.

One of the followers of Chief Phato, who attended a baptism service at Wesleyville in the early 1820s, was asked by Shaw what was expected from those who joined the church that day. He replied that he was "to cast off his old kaross, and put on a new one". (196) There is no suggestion here of putting on western clothes, as was the case with later converts. There are links here with the symbolic meaning of cloak as authority symbol in the Bible, as with Elijah's mantle.

The idea of donning a new cloak as a sign of transition to a new status can also be associated with certain traditional rites of passage. In the last phases of mourning, and in the coming-out ceremony of the abakwetha (initiates to manhood), reincorporation was preceded by the burning of the old cloak or blanket, washing as purification, and the putting on of a new cloak or blanket. As Ray says, "the remaking of man" included "the symbolic destruction of the old and the creation of the new". (197) The blanket of a chief was specially treated at circumcision by being perfumed with a ground powder made from the pith of the umgxam tree (boerbean) (198) mixed with scented herbs, and this was continued throughout the chief's life. (199)

There is no record of Ntsikana putting on a new cloak; but as has been shown his leopard-skin robe acquired new mystical associations among his followers. Dress is something a person wears to show where he belongs. In line 15, the royal "we" implied in the word tina could again be used more specifically by Ntsikana to say that Jesus is the great cloak which he and others like him put on, or it could refer to all "believers" in general. What is important, though, is that the cloak of Jesus is superior to all other cloaks. A connection can be made with the Poll-headed imagery of putting on the spiritual armour of God. Ntsikana obviously considered this line in his hymn of paramount importance as it originally came first.

Lines 16 to 21

Lines 16 to 19 are a straightforward statement of Christian teaching on Jesus' suffering on the cross, salvation and atonement :

16. Ozandla Zako zinamanxeba Wena.
17. Onyawo Zako zinamanxeba Wena.
18. Ugazi Lako limrolo yinina?
19. Ugazi Lako lipalalele tina.

16. The hands of yours, they are wounded.
17. The feet of yours, they are wounded.
18. Thy blood, why is it a stream?
19. Thy blood, spilt for us.

There are no doubts about missionary influence here, the only uncertainty being as to when Ntsikana first heard this teaching and from whom. Vanderkemp records giving a series of sermons on the history of our Lord's passion during his ministry to the Xhosa; (200) and this is corroborated in the oral tradition. (201) This would also have been a central tenet in the evangelical preaching of Williams. The important question, though, is not the source of the teaching but Ntsikana's understanding of its substance.

The idea of sacrifice can be seen to correspond with the ritual killing of a beast but African theologians insist on drawing a distinction. Nxumalo argues that sacrifice "signifies homage paid to and adoration of God, who is the source of life". (202) Ancestors are not divinities, and the ritual killing of a beast for them is a sign of brotherhood and a symbol of respect and reverence. The term ukuhlabela (lit. to slaughter for),(203) which is used in relation to the ancestors, is also used to denote the slaughtering of a beast for a visiting member of the family. Consequently, ukuhlabela should not be regarded as an act of adoration. According to Berglund, the slaughtering for ancestors is a ritual of communion which is "at times one of appeasement, at other times one of gratitude, at others, again, of commitment". (204) It often includes invocation or soliciting aid. But it is only to the north of Africa, among the Nuer and the Dinka, (205) where there is a more cosmic monism, that the idea of atonement is explicit in ritual killing. (206)

Despite theological reservations, the many references to sacrifice in the Old Testament have rung bells with Africans throughout the continent. It is quite feasible that they are nearer to the original understanding of sacrifice in Israel, and perhaps even to the sacrifice of Christ, than the normally deficient western understanding. J.H. Soga for one finds exact parallels between the Jewish and Xhosa sacrifices, quoting Leviticus 7 : 15 and 30 in support. (207) S.E.K. Mqhayi is another who has interpreted Christ's sacrifice in terms of traditional religious concepts in his book Idini (1928). He compares the ritual slaughtering, idini, (208) which is the spilling of blood for the ancestors, with the spilling of Christ's blood on Calvary. (209) Mqhayi takes the different stages

of the ritual killing step by step, and draws parallels with biblical references. He begins by observing that the sacrificial beast is slaughtered when there are existing conflicts between family members, and he quotes Genesis 3:15 as the biblical parallel. The animal is chosen by those who have supernatural powers, and this is compared with Isaiah 53. Mqhayi then follows on with references to the discussion about the animal (Matthew 27:1), the traditional doctor being the officiant at the ceremony (John II), the beast bellowing in the late afternoon (Mark 15:34), the slaughtering taking place in the presence of the entire family. (John 19), people starting to worship when the beast bellows (Matthew 23:47), the dead rising up at the sound of the bellowing (Matthew 27:52-53), and the wound in the beast's belly (John 19:34). Finally, when the beast is dead its flesh is eaten, and this is linked with John 6:55.

Mqhayi's use of the traditional mode in conceptualizing Christ's sacrifice is taken a step further to include salvation and expiation in his poem "Aa! Sifuba sibanzi!" (1935). (210) Writing about the coming of Christ, he says :

> This king who is coming is a priest,
> He is the sacrificial beast and a Saviour.
> His blood will be sacrificed for our salvation.
> "Without blood there is no remission of sins".

It is quite feasible that Ntsikana's understanding of the sacrificial section of the Great hymn was conceived in much the same way as that of Mqhayi but without of course the biblical references. The traditional blood symbolism as a conciliatory factor acquires the added meaning of expiation in the Christian context. (211) Nxumalo argues that the death of Christ should be seen to be different from the death of ancestors because of the elements of expiation and salvation. He goes on to say,

> What draws many Africans to Christ is the fact that he shed his blood on the Cross for their sins. There is no new life without the shedding of blood. The African understands that from blood comes new life. And therefore the message of salvation through the shedding of blood and dying on the Cross can be seen as a source of vital force. (212)

The repetition of the word "wounded" in lines 16 and 17 of the hymn, and "blood" in lines 18 and 19, is a stylistic device to give these statements greater impact, the more so as it involves the development of a traditional concept to incorporate new ideas. The question at the end of line 18 is another querying of God's action. The following line provides the answer, thus focussing on the crucial point that this person, Jesus, offered himself as a sacrifice for us.

In Balfour's version of this section of the hymn, which he supposedly obtained from Ntsikana as a boy, he has two lines referring to the hands and feet of the Messiah being wounded through crucifixion, followed by another line found nowhere else : "Who was pierced with a spear in his side". (213) This could be directly associated with Xhosa sacrifice because in a ritual killing the beast is stabbed in the stomach over the aorta muscle, the hand thrust into the wound, and the aorta torn away so that the animal bleeds to death. (214) This overt association with the tradition may explain why the line has never been included in any publication of the hymn. On the other hand, as Mqhayi indicates, it is biblically correct when compared with John 19 : 34.

There is also a symbolic association between the ritual killing of a beast or goat to commemorate the ancestors and the spiritual aspect of the forest. Branches of sneezewood, umthathi, are used to make the fire, while the meat is laid on twigs of Cape wild olive, umnquma. These two trees are amongst the commonest in the Xhosa area and are a stylized aspect of the ancestor cult that everyone uses,whereas other ritual elements change.

Line 20 refers to the price of Christ's redemption but for some Xhosa it is a problem because of a misunderstanding in meaning. The line reads : "Lemali enkulu-na siyibizile? - This great price, have we called for it?" Some have interpreted the meaning of "price" literally as "a great deal of money". But what Ntsikana is referring to is Christ's death on the cross being the high price he paid to redeem humanity. The question, whether we have called for it, could mean have we deserved it, do we have a right to it; and he infers that the answer is no. It is a gift of love. This line could also be seen as the straightforward criticism of an imbongi, in which case it would mean that we did not call for it so that we cannot be held responsible for Christ's sacrifice.

Line 21 is said to be incorrect. As it stands it reads : "Lomzi Wakonana siwubizile? - This home of yours,

have we called for it?" If "home" is taken to mean "heaven" then the last two lines could be interpreted as meaning "through the obliging grace of the Lord, the heathen are sought and drawn heavenwards by love although they do not ask for it". (215) Once more there is the questioning of God's action. The last two lines could therefore be understood as saying that we have not asked to become followers of Christ and that the price of our suffering is too great. This would be a heartfelt cry from Ntsikana and his disciples in their situation of persecution and displacement.

There could also be a double meaning in the last two lines which would involve a political criticism relating to the personal sacrifice of Ngqika's people. Ngqika accepted Ntsikana's conversion yet in the end he chose to follow his traditionalist councillors. This set in motion a disastrous train of events resulting in much suffering and the loss of the Ceded Territory. Ntsikana could therefore be functioning in the political role of an imbongi, questioning the actions of his chief. He could be implying that Ngqika's followers did not ask to pay this great price which could have been avoided if only the chief had listened to him. Now the whites had moved them to a new home at Tyhume against their wishes, and are poised to take over more of their land. And of course this threat proved only too true.

It is claimed with considerable authority by Zaze, eldest son of the Right Hand House of Soga, and John Muir Vimbe, a young disciple of Ntsikana, (216) that a mistake was made when the last line was first set down in writing and Wakonana, meaning home or place, (217) was substituted for Konwana, a praise name of Soga. The line would then read : "Lomzi ka Konwana siwubizile - The village (homestead) of Konwana we have called it". This would then be a praise sung in honour of Soga and his family because of his lead in following the word of God. (218) The response of Tiyo, son of Soga, in becoming the first Xhosa to be ordained as a minister is regarded by Xhosa today as a fulfilment of this prophetic statement. (219) The mistake in transcription could have been a human error or else a deliberate move on the part of the early missionaries at Chumie to omit the reference to Soga. He persistently refused to be drawn into their fold and was something of a trial in opting to remain loyal to his chief. The use of wakonana in hymn books has continued to this day although there has been a move among the Xhosa over the years to restore the original form of ka Konwana. (220)

In this analysis I have tried to show how Ntsikana developed a systematic theology which would unite his people at the belief level. At the same time his use of the traditional literary form of izibongo for the construction of his hymn resulted in his poetry becoming a transitional form of literature among the Xhosa. In addition, I have demonstrated his role as imbongi in both praising and ciriticizing God as his new chief. Parallels can be drawn with Ntsikana's role as a prophet in questioning God's action, and in being over against Ngqika, the pragmatist who is the political leader, as in the classical period of prophecy in Israel. With regard to the content of the hymn, I have shown how the traditional images and symbolism which Ntsikana drew on as carriers of change were deeply embedded in the Xhosa tradition; and how, by using past images to interpret the present, he appealed to the innermost core of his people's being. (221) Furthermore, his use of immediate symbols redolent with contemporary meaning served as a bridging device in integrating the new values and symbols with the old. (222) In this way Ntsikana enabled his countrymen to adapt to a rapidly changing world, as well as contributing to the enrichment of Xhosa literature. Of all the traditions associated with Ntsikana, the Great hymn most clearly comes from him, and reflects, with greater authenticity than any other of the material, the worlds that met in him and his struggle to relate them to each other.

We now turn to an examination of the way in which Ntsikana expressed the new language of faith through music by drawing on the Xhosa musical tradition as yet another carrier of change.

5.5 THE MUSIC OF NTSIKANA

5.5.1 Musical Sources

In traditional Xhosa poetry a distinction can be made between praise poems, and lyrics and traditional verse, including songs. (223) Although izibongo are often described as being sung, they are actually uttered at high speed in a strained growling voice. (224) As Opland observes, they differ from songs in that they are not delivered to a recurrent tune;

> nor are they ever antiphonal or choral, for the poetry is always the production of an individual. Xhosa songs on the other hand are more often than not communal and antiphonal,

> in that many voices may sing in unison, or many people may clap rhythmically while one sings, or many may lay down a recurrent refrain while a leader sings a fixed or improvised song. (225)

Early accounts of Xhosa singing are generally in the context of a dance, and the singing and dancing are invariably criticized by European observers as being monotonous. (226) Further, they note that these activities did not begin until sunset and, on a clear moonlit night, would continue until dawn. (227) Early sources agree that the only instrumental accompaniment was the striking of sticks or the beating of the ox-hide, inggonggo. Rhythmical variety was achieved through clapping of hands, stamping of feet, whistling and humming. (228) There are, however, a number of references to various stringed instruments of Khoi derivation, and the evidence suggests that cultural diffusion, at least in the frontier region, had resulted in some familiarity with the musical bow among the Xhosa by the turn of the eighteenth century.

Alberti (1807) describes a mouth bow sounding "similar to a jew's harp", in fact the Khoi gora; but he seldom saw it among the Xhosa and then it would be played by Gonaqua. (229) Holden (1866) mentions an instrument called the iguba (nowadays called uhadi) which used a calabash as resonator. He says that it made "a monotonous, vibrating sound, without meaning or charm", and he regarded it as being "one of the poorest displays of inventive genius". Campbell (1815) describes both bows and found the sound rather more agreeable. (230) Lichtenstein (1812-15) supports the case for Khoi influence on Xhosa music by the time of Ntsikana by saying that the Xhosa did not appear to have instruments "proper to themselves". But those of the Khoi were seen among them, although not so well constructed. (231)

Lichtenstein also notes that the greater part of Xhosa songs did not consist of words, but of single syllables, which were incomprehensible to them. (232) Steedman gives the example of them repeating "Yo,yo,yo" and "Jei,jei,jei". (233) This is corroborated by Alberti, who records that the Xhosa would only sing together at a dance, and that the singing consisted of "a few unharmonious notes without any words; ... otherwise one only hears individual persons singing, principally and frequently in solitude, if indeed this production of sound, completely devoid of melody, and these quite meaningless ejaculations can be so designated". (234)

The European travellers evidently did not appreciate

the unique style of Xhosa vocal music. Thunberg (1772) described it as "a rough, shrieking kind of singing, accompanied sometimes with whistling noise", Campbell (1815) said that they bawled aloud in a "disgusting manner", (235) while Lichtenstein (1803-5) maintained that the Xhosa melodies "were insufferable to a musical ear and their song little better than a deadened howl". (236) However, contemporary European composers did not always fare much better in terms of audience appreciation even among their own people. August von Kotzuebue, giving a critique of Beethoven's "Overture to Fidelio" in 1806, wrote, "All impartial musicians and music lovers were in complete agreement that never was anything written in music so incoherent, shrill, muddled and utterly shocking to the ear". (237)

Later observers among the Xhosa showed a slightly greater understanding of the complexity of their music, and this corresponds with the singing of Ntsikana's hymns. Holden (1866) observes :

> Although they have no scientific rules by which to conduct their singing processes, yet they are not ignorant of parts. I have often heard one lead off with a loud shrill whistle, and having proceeded through a few notes, a number of voices join in melodiously ; and then comes the full force of the deep bass, with a rolling chorus of great power; the feet beating time, until the earth becomes vocal. (238)

Brownlee (1827) claims that if the ordinary songs had any meaning at all, they were confined to the topics of war and hunting. Campbell (1815) says the words they used were the names of friends, rivers and places they could recollect. (239) These are significant insights with reference to the content of the Great hymn. But it would seem that there was in fact a wide range of songs to cover every occasion, including lullabies, love-songs, work-songs, game-songs, initiation songs, dance songs belonging to different age groups, songs for beer drinks, weddings and funerals, songs for hunting, songs for war, songs of witchcraft and songs associated with the clan or chiefdom. (240)

It is difficult to isolate the specifically religious songs for comparison with Ntsikana's hymns as religion permeates the whole traditional Xhosa way of life. Handclapping and dancing in the ritual context are used to

summon the ancestors, while Nkonki argues that among the Ngqika songs are used mainly to communicate with other worlds. As an example, he cites the telling of folk stories where snatches of choruses can be sung at critical points in the tale as a magico-religious means of summoning supernatural aid for the hero or heroine. (241)

Vilakazi is more specific in his classifying of Nguni religious songs under the headings of elegy and ceremonial songs (amahubo and izinkondlo). (242) He claims that neither type of song is accompanied by dancing and that they are characterized by "their very weird tones, intensely sad, pathetic and touching". (243) No matter whether this classification applies to the Xhosa or not, early reports of the singing of Ntsikana's Great hymn show that his music followed this traditional mode.

According to Kay (1825), the "native air" to which the hymn was sung was remarkable for its plaintiveness and simplicity. (244) This was echoed by Steedman (1835), who described the "wild and plaintive melody as having a pathos and deep-toned expression which was exceedingly affecting". (245) Other early sources commented on the monotony of Ntsikana's music. (246) As has been mentioned, this was due to his use of a typical cyclical form of African music where a single musical sentence is repeated over and over by the song leader, in contrast to the linear form of European music. The monotonous effect enhances the sadness of the music. (247)

In his discussion of Nguni religious songs, Vilakazi also makes mention of the fact that they are sung during the first part of a traditional wedding ceremony, which is serious and solemn. (248) This would correspond with Tracey's evidence that the music of the Great hymn was originally a country wedding song sung by red blanket Ngqika people of Ciskei, and that it was adapted by Ntsikana. (249) Tracey obtained his information from singers at a traditional wedding in the Peddie district where he recorded their version of the hymn. Some, however, claimed that Ntsikana himself composed the music, in the way that any Xhosa man would compose his own song as his signature tune. (250) Although there is no firm evidence to support the link with umdudo or wedding music, (251) this is a distinct possibility as oral tradition has it that the dance which Ntsikana attended on the day of his conversion was at a wedding and that the hymn was conceived there. (252)

It is uncertain as to whether Ntsikana's hymn-singing was accompanied by dancing or not. Jordan argues for dancing seeing that Ntsikana was renowned as a singer and

dancer, and singing and dancing customarily went together in the tradition. (253) It seems likely that even though early mission influence may have ruled out dancing in a Christian context, there was at least some bodily movement in rhythmic harmony with the music, and possibly clapping too. But there is no recorded evidence and the missionaries at Chumie would certainly not have allowed Ntsikana's disciples to move vigorously in church. Tradition relates that after his conversion Ntsikana took no more part in traditional dances, and that he warned his people against going to them. (254) Here again mission influence intrudes, and this would only suggest that he did not participate in ritual celebrations associated with the ancestors.

Nowadays, according to an informant, "when there is a get together where people are observing the Ntsikana approach to worship, dancing is a part of it. There is dancing within the hut, there is dancing outside in front of the cattle kraal : from the priest down. Dancing was a traditional form, it was important. And the people using Ntsikana's song do not sing it in the western way of being composed. They get into ecstasies about it because it is a moving thing". (255)

Ntsikana's other hymns show similar links with Xhosa musical tradition. Moreover, the Great hymn is sung today to the same melody and harmony pattern as the Poll-headed or Round hymn, which strengthens the connection with umdudo music, as the latter was undoubtedly Ntsikana's first composition after his conversion. Another source of musical influence may well have been the uhadi bow.

Dargie has recorded indigenous performances of the Great hymn using the uhadi bow, in the Lumko district of Lady Frere and Mckay's Nek in Transkei, by people who have never heard of Ntsikana showing how the hymn survived independently of school and church influence. The evidence indicates that the uhadi form of the hymn is very old and Dargie suggests that it may well have been sung with uhadi in Ntsikana's services. (256) At the least the historical sources show that as a result of Khoi influence the bow was coming into increasing use among Xhosa in Ntsikana's area during his day.

The bow performances recorded in Transkei are "pure Xhosa music in every way and in every style element". They are built up with song lines (izicabo), the texts being phrases from the Great hymn with a number of additional lines. Some of these reflect the history of the hymn's transmission from Ciskei to Transkei; and a reference to the war of Mlanjeni suggests that it was brought by

refugees from this war. The singing is characterized by lead (hlabela) and answer (landela) sections with the lead part being played on the uhadi when the song is sung with a bow. The rhythm is also typically Xhosa; and Dargie shows that even Bokwe's versions of the Great hymn are in the "bow mode", "the two major triads a whole tone apart being a feature of Xhosa bow technique". Dargie argues persuasively that these traditional performances are invaluable in providing insight into how the hymns were originally sung and how they have come to be changed within the confines of the church.

Ntsikana's use of the Xhosa musical tradition is yet another important example of how he used the old as a carrier of change to incorporate the new, one of his most radical innovations being the introduction of a Christian text into Xhosa music, the first hymn in Xhosa. The question arises as to where he got this idea. Missionary influence seems to be the most obvious answer, but the link with Khoi and San traditions cannot be discounted. In chapter one it was seen that substantial linguistic evidence shows cross-cultural fertilization particularly with the Khoi, and this can be extended to music. Dargie submits that the click sounds in Xhosa singing and dancing terminology indicate Khoisan influence. (257) Unfortunately the musical evidence apart from the bow is rather slight. (258) The suggestion that the use of the raised fourth scale degree in harmony, apparently found only among the Xhosa, was derived from the Khoi cannot be substantiated. There is also the possibility that the Khoi use of complex hand-clapping may have influenced the development of Xhosa rhythm, which in some ways is perhaps unique in Africa. (259) Of greater significance is the fact that both the Khoi and the San sang hymns during their ritual celebrations. These were in the form of prayers for rain and food, the San invoking the sun, moon and stars, (260) and the Khoi, Tsui//Goab, who has been linked with the Xhosa God-name, Thixo. (261) Although the Khoi hymn-singing may not have directly influenced Ntsikana, it may well have prepared the way by familiarizing him with this type of worship in an indigenous form.

Ntsikana's first contact with Christian hymn-singing was most probably at Vanderkemp's services. Psalms were sung as well as hymns, but these were all in Dutch and there is no record of Xhosa participation. (262) The Khoi on the other hand readily took to Christian hymn-singing for not only were they soon conversant in Dutch, but this was a familiar form of worship. (263) Wauchope provides conflicting evidence which suggests that it was Vanderkemp

who initiated the idea of adapting Xhosa music for hymn-singing. In his account of his grandmother's reminiscences of Vanderkemp's teaching to the Ngqika, he ends by saying,

> She would also sing to me the songs they sang under the tree, the music of which was borrowed from the chorus of the Kafir National song Umdudo, with this difference, that the strain is disguised by the dropping of the main slurrings common to the vocalised Kafir song, in order to adapt it to the words, so that ideas may be expressed. Both the primary and the secondary strains in the refrain are thus abbreviated. (264)

As with the words of the Great hymn quoted by Wauchope, it seems as if the old lady confused her sources. Vanderkemp would surely have made mention of his adaptation of Xhosa music if in fact he had made such an important step, the more so if one considers European attitudes to Xhosa music. What is important here is that the music of the Great hymn is tied more firmly to umdudo music showing that Ntsikana is as much a pioneering figure in the transition of Xhosa music as he is in Xhosa literature and religion.

5.5.2 The Transmission of Ntsikana's Music

John Knox Bokwe was the first to transcribe the music of Ntsikana's hymns. He had been educated at Lovedale, like his father before him, having been enrolled as a day-pupil in the primary school in 1866. (265) One of his teachers during these formative years was William Kobe, grandson of Ntsikana. Bokwe describes hearing a piano played for the first time, by Mrs James Stewart, shortly after her arrival from Scotland with her husband early in 1867. He was later appointed to the staff of Lovedale and began to compose music in tonic solfa notation in 1875. He was completely self-taught, using European models for the composition of his hymns and songs. Bokwe was well aware of his shortcomings with regard to technical skills in music and planned to gain further musical experience during a visit to Scotland in 1892. (266) He may well have acquired his knowledge of staff notation while overseas. (267) At any rate he was invited to sing his hymns at various gatherings, and became proficient in playing the organ and the piano.

Bokwe was outspoken in his criticism of the distortion to the Xhosa language caused by the missionary practice of adapting Xhosa translations of hymns to their European melodies. The texts for his hymns came from African clergymen and teachers as well as European missionaries; but in imitating European musical practices he was also guilty of linguistic distortions. (268) Nonetheless, an appreciation written shortly after his death in 1922 states:

> Many of his compositions will live .... It may be urged that his songs are in spirit and in harmony English, but he had the wisdom to know that the monotonous cadence of pure native music would be unacceptable to educated audiences, and so he endeavoured to graft English harmonies on a native background, and in this he has not been unsuccessful. (269)

With reference to Ntsikana's Great hymn, Bokwe notes that the words and music were "traditionally handed down till committed to print as arranged by him". (270) His grandparents were among those of Ntsikana's disciples whom he consulted. The chant of the hymn was set down in tonic solfa notation and published in Isigidimi samaXosa in November 1876. It was re-printed in the Christian Express in May 1879. (271) Bokwe subsequently published a five part arrangement in tonic solfa in his Amaculo ase Lovedale (Lovedale Music) in 1885, and this appeared again in the second and third editions of the song book in 1894 and 1914. Bokwe also used this arrangement of the Great hymn in his two editions of the story of Ntsikana in 1904 and 1914.

Undoubtedly Bokwe's transcriptions do not reflect the exact way the hymns were sung by Ntsikana and his disciples. Rather, they mirror the influence of musical change exerted by the church. Musical transmission can be just as open to distortion as oral transmission. In writing about the singing of the Great hymn at the opening service of the new church at Mgwali in 1858, Tiyo Soga remarked : "I scarcely think it will ever again be sung as it was sung in his [Ntsikana's] day. Our people since they left the Chumie must have had few opportunities of singing it". (272) Further evidence comes from the correspondence column of The Methodist Churchman in 1916. J.W.W. Owen wrote :

> Native Christians have ... become so much accustomed to the English metre and tunes that in some places they have lost the art of singing in their own way. There are two ways, Xosa ways, of singing Ntsikana's hymn, but most of the folk I have known are not acquainted with one of the tunes at all, and in the other, with which the majority are still familiar, there is frequent confusion in several of the lines owing to a difference in the number of syllables in the lines, or to the length of words varying in a similar number of beats. (273)

Bokwe himself was aware that Ntsikana was said to have sung the Great hymn to two different tunes. Writing to Kropf in October 1886, he relates that the tune published in his book was the one generally known. At that time he had failed to ascertain the other. He also refers to his publication of the music of "Ele le le le home, hom, homna", which Ntsikana chanted on the morning after his conversion, in his serialized story of Ntsikana in the Christian Express, November 1878. But he comments that he has as yet failed to get the music of Ntsikana's Bell, nor, indeed, the words. He had been told by an old man in Port Elizabeth that the words were something like "Sabela! Sabela! homa hom, hom, hom". (274) Bokwe insists that the music of the chant is quite distinct from the Great hymn and must not be confused with it; but Dargie has shown that they are contrapuntal variants of one basic hymn and notes that traditional Xhosa songs always have a variety of melodies combined contrapuntally into one song. (275) A more elaborate version of the chant appears in Bokwe's story of Ntsikana in 1904; (276) but it was not until the second edition of the book in 1914 that he gave the music of the Round (Poll-headed) hymn, the Bell and Dalibom. All these transcriptions are in tonic solfa notation with the Bell and the Chorus of the Round hymn being arranged in four parts. (277) At some later stage Bokwe transcribed the hymns into staff notation but these arrangements do not appear to have been published. (278)

From the evidence of Wauchope's grandmother quoted above, that the primary and the secondary strains in the refrain are abbreviated in the singing of the Great hymn, it would seem that Bokwe's transcription of the melody is an example of change that had taken place in church performances. Dargie argues that the "primary strain" is presumably the leader part, and the "secondary strain" is

the answering or following part - two overlapping contrapuntal melodies which became "abbreviated" or aggregated into one melody, reflected in Bokwe's transcription. This awkward aggregation was obviously the reason for the confusion in singing some of the lines to which Owen refers. (279)

It must have been the awkwardness of this melody which has led to the predominance in church performances of the "Ele le le le home" melody, used by Bokwe for the Round hymn, and which today is generally used as the melody of the Great hymn. This practice was reflected by the Choral Society in Zwelitsha, led by Bokwe's son, Selborne T. Bokwe, when in the 1950s they recorded the Great hymn to the same melody as the Round hymn. S.T. Bokwe made another important change in this performance by repeating the "Ahom" chorus of the Bell after Dalibom as well. (280) Dargie points out that this in fact links all four hymns to versions of the "Ahom" and "Ele le homna" chorus.

A criticism of Bokwe's transcription is that he wrote down and arranged Ntsikana's music in partly western style. This is said to encourage the singing of the music according to the scale intervals of the western scale and intonation. (281) Nonetheless, as Dargie says, "Western influences do not detract from the fact that the music is still strongly Xhosa in character, even as performed on the Tracey disc (in a hall, and by singers whose ear is somewhat influenced by Western notation)". (282)

5.5.3 The Musical Style of Ntsikana's Hymns

In his comments on the musical style of Ntsikana's hymns, Dargie notes that the music of the Round hymn as transcribed by Bokwe, is substantially the same as in the recorded performances of the Great hymn by the Zwelitsha Choral Society and as a wedding song. (283) The melody is the same, and they all exhibit the same typically African "saw pattern" of pitch relationships in which the melody moves in a descending pattern of small or great intervals. (284) The harmony pattern is also the same, and voice movement uses what Kirby calls the "parallelism of the vocal parts". (285) It is based on typical Xhosa tonality shift between two pure major triads a whole tone apart. Tonality shift is almost universal African harmonic practice, but the way it is used by the Xhosa is possibly unique. In traditional Xhosa music where this harmony pattern is used, the melody also uses the raised fourth scale degree, and not the perfect fourth. (286) Dargie concludes, therefore, that the perfect fourth in the melody

of all the recorded choral performances of Ntsikana's hymns as well as in Bokwe's transcriptions, is not authentic and shows European influence. In addition, he indicates a number of other ways in which the recorded choral performances exhibit influences of "makwaya" style (that style affected by African musicians in attempting to perform or compose in European choir style).

In contrast, the recording of the Great hymn as a wedding song is performed in a more authentically Xhosa manner. (287) This includes the use of ululation by the women, vocal percussion by the men (consisting of a guttural "Hi!"), spoken comments, the typical Xhosa voice production which is more nasal than the typical European style, and more use of improvisation of parts. Further, in this performance the perfect fourth does not occur, the typically Xhosa hexatonic scale being used. Lastly, the solo part drops in the last bar, a characteristic of the "saw pattern", whereas in the choral performance the last two notes rise, as in a western style cadence.

With regard to rhythm and movement, the wedding song is sung more lightly and a little more quickly than the choral performance. Clapping on the first beat and "vocal percussion" on the third beat of each measure give a more Xhosa rhythmic feeling. However, the main rhythmic movement - 3 solid beats to a measure, in the way performed on the disc - shows western influence.

Since 1981, Dargie has recorded three completely traditional style performances of Ntsikana's music. They include two performances with uhadi bow and one sung with clapping. (288) According to Dargie,

> All three of these traditional performances use a rhythm based on an eight-pulse pattern divided into a 3+3+2 pattern (♩♩♩ ♩♩♩ ♩♩ or ♩. ♩. ♩) - a pattern of three "beats" of unequal length, altered under western influence to three equal beats (♩ ♩ ♩) in church performance and in the wedding song recording.
>
> All three traditional performances use a leader part whose melody is closely related to the "Ele le le homna" (Round hymn) melody and to the opening phrase of Bokwe's transcription of the Great hymn. All three also use following overlapping parts which are related to the consequent phrases of Bokwe's transcription. (289)

All the musical elements in these performances, and most of the musical elements in the wedding song, are consistent with Xhosa style and this music could quite easily have been a Xhosa piece of very long standing, adapted by Ntsikana. Supporting evidence comes from the late Rev. W.S. Gawe, an Anglican priest at Peelton, near King William's Town. He recalled hearing the music of Ntsikana being sung at local celebrations by people still living in the old ways, who did not necessarily know the words of Ntsikana. (290) At the same time, Ntsikana's hymns are surprisingly well-known even among such people, which indicates their genuinely Xhosa qualities.

In summing up we can say that Tracey recorded a song at a wedding, which turned out to be a performance of Ntsikana's hymn, on one specific occasion, which establishes the relationship between the two in the Xhosa experience. Therefore, even though there is no evidence to show that Ntsikana's hymn-tune is that of a specific umdudo song, it is in that idiom and may be sung in a style quite consistent with umdudo music which establishes a link with traditional music. This is corroborated by evidence from the oral tradition. Whether Ntsikana composed something new in the old style or adapted previously existing music is not possible to say, but it seems that he may well have modified the wedding music he heard on the day of his conversion to serve the purposes of his hymns. What is significant is that Ntsikana based his music on an established style and established techniques thereby once more using the old to give authority to the new.

With regard to Ntsikana's other two hymns, there are unquestionably strong African elements in both of them, even as transcribed by Bokwe. Both exhibit the typical African "saw pattern" of pitch relationships. However, as with the Round hymn and the Great hymn, the rhythm is in isometric 3/4 time. The transcription again shows European influence. In the recorded performance of the Bell the melody is based on European harmonic concepts, and in a European way; the fourth scale degree is used in a typically European fashion; and the final cadence rises in typical makwaya style. (291) The first section of Dalibom shows less or even no European influence and the melody is based at least arguably on the typical Xhosa tonality shift. (292)

Dargie argues that all four hymns in Bokwe's transcriptions may really be variants of one hymn. Both the Bell and Dalibom have opening lines characteristic of a leader beginning a song - "Sele, ahom! Sabelani, Sabelani

...", "He! Nankok' uDal'ubom ..." - and both (as shown by S.T. Bokwe and the choir's performance) then go into the "Ahom!" chorus.

Dargie also suggests that seeing that typical Xhosa songs do not use as many song verses as are found in the praise poem of the Great hymn, this poem itself may be broken into songs of a few related lines. Thus different sections of the hymn may be used on different occasions, i.e. the same hymn may become several hymns. For example :

Leader : "Sele! Ahom! Sabelani! Niya bizwa ezulwini-
Sele! Ahom! You are called to the heavens"

Chorus of Followers : Ahom, na, homna ... etc.

Leader continues with verses relating to being called :

"Yabinza inkwenkwezi, isixelela,
Lathetha ixilongo, lisibizile" etc.(293)

The style of the Mckay's Nek performances of the Great hymn has the leader singing the "Ahom!" chorus line, and the following singer sings a variety of answering lines. The style of the Lumko performance is reversed, with the leader singing the variety of lines and the answering group reiterating "Homna, homna, likhaka lenyaniso".

In this way Dargie traces a relationship between the church tradition/Bokwe tradition of the hymns and the village/oral tradition. (294) The authenticity of Ntsikana's music as a true expression of Xhosa music is thus established. Not only was it a carrier of change in showing his people a way into Christianity, it also brought into Christian worship a true expression of a genuine Xhosa tradition. Even though the contribution of the Bokwes, father and son, did bow somewhat to western and church influence, they nonetheless achieved a really Xhosa greatness. Hugh Tracey, the noted ethnomusicologist, considers that Ntsikana's Bell, Bokwe's arrangement of the four hymns in a song cycle, is "perhaps the most famous of all Xhosa songs". (295) Even the supposed adaptation of the music from a pre-existing source was itself an act of profound musical composition as was the setting of a praise poem to music as a hymn. The compositions of Ntsikana, a contemporary of Beethoven, have lasted for one hundred and sixty-four years and have been a powerful means of enabling successive generations of black people throughout South Africa to express their Africanness in their worship of God.

NOTES - CHAPTER 5

1. J.M. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 65.
2. D. Dargie, "Some queries regarding the texts of Ntsikana's hymns", unpublished MS, 20 Sept. 1984.
3. D.D. Hansen, The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe. A Contemporary Xhosa Composer (Occasional Paper no. 11, ISER, Rhodes University, 1968). The quotation is from Hansen's M.A. thesis on the subject (Rhodes University, 1968) p. 67.
4. Falati (1895) p. 10. Cf. the composition of the hymns of "The Church of the Nazarites". Isaiah Shembe would hear a woman's voice singing new words while waking from a dream or walking. These he wrote down while humming the tune. In contrast, his school master son, Johannes Galilee Shembe, saw his hymns written down on the blackboard of his mind. He wrote down the verses as the board was lowered before his eyes : Sundkler (1976) p. 186.
5. Kropf (1915) p. 287.
6. Falati (1895) p. 9.
7. Bokwe (1914) p. 23.
8. Jordan (1973) p. 18. See also H. Weman, African Music and the Church in Africa (Uppsala, 1960) p. 20.
9. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 8, gives only the chant and not the hymn : "Homu, Homu, Homu, Homu!
   A homu! Homu! Homu! Homu!"
10. See Sundkler (1961) p. 194, and (1976) p. 187.
11. Kropf (1915) pp. 94, 214.
12. Ibid., p. 165.
13. Ibid., p. 113.
14. ukuGgora can mean "to speak strongly against a person, and in-Tonga, a stick used as a weapon of assault or defence : ibid., pp. 130, 418.
15. inKazana means a woman living at her father's place : ibid., p. 184.
16. Personal communication from Mrs. H. de Villiers, Stellenbosch, 22 March 1977.
17. Cf. J. Lenherr's study of "The Hymnody of the Mission Churches among the Shona and Ndebele" in Christianity South of the Zambezi edited by M.F.C. Bourdillon (Gwelo, 1977) p. 103.
18. Opland (1983) ch. 5; Willoughby (1928) p. 369.
19. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 7; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p. 7 (the original article was published in Isigidimi SamaXosa, May 1888.
20. Bokwe (1914) pp. 18-20.
21. P.J. Oosthuysen suggests that the meaning could be derived from isele, which is the gentle sound a small frog makes, as compared with ixoxo, the sound of bullfrogs used to denote the sound of loud voices in the conversation of men.
22. Hansen (thesis 1968) p. 30.
23. Information from Fr. D. Dargie, 8 March 1985. For a recording of the Great hymn on the bell-stone see Ntsikana music collection 1984 (Lumko Music Department, tape no. 98) no. 1, side 1.
24. Döhne (1857) p. 391; Kropf (1915) p. 494.
25. Kropf (1915) p. 19.
26. Ibid., p. 494.
27. I am indebted to P.J. Oosthuysen of the Department of African Studies, Stellenbosch University, for this understanding given in discussions during 1977.
28. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 7 :
   "Sele! Sele! Homu! A Homu! Sele! Sele! Homu! A Homu!

A Homu! A Homu! A Homu!	A Homu! A Homu! A Homu!
Nankoke zihlwele ndini!	There he is ye crowds!
Yizani nonke nabantwanana!	Come all together with the young ones!
Yisana kuva izwi lalenkosi!	Come and hear the word of this king!
Ilizwe libiyelwe langqongana!	The world is confined within limits!
Owoliqonda ngowolihlaulelwa!	He that will understand it is the redeemed!
Sabelani niyabizwa emazulwini!	Respond for ye are all called to heaven!"

29. See note 19.
30. Bokwe (1914) p. 23.
31. Davis (1872) p. 19.
32. Wauchope (1908) pp. 23, 25.
33. I am indebted to P.J. Oosthuysen for these translations.
34. The eschatological implications of Christian baptism as resurrection to a new life, a new heart, resulting in a totally new man, are well set out in Mbiti's study of the encounter between New Testament theology and African traditional concepts : (1971) p. 98.
35. B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 7. His translation is as follows with the extra line being : "He! Nankok' u-Dalibom udal'izulu!"
    Yea! There is the Creator of Life of the Christians!
    Yea! There is the Creator of Life He calleth us unmindful!
    Yea! There is the Creator of Life He ascended on high!
    Yea! There is the Creator of Life He created heaven!
36. Personal communication, E.H. Bigalke, East London Museum, 18 Sept. 1979.
37. Interview with A.M.S. Sityana (Rharhabe praise-singer who was attached to the Xhosa Dictionary project), Fort Hare, 16 July 1979.
38. J. Opland, Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry (New Haven and London, 1980) p. 117 and (1983) pp. 64, 71-2.
39. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) p. 65.
40. For a discussion on the development of oral religious tradition, rather than their diminishing, following the advent of Christianity in Africa see Finnegan (1970) pp. 184-5.
41. Falati (1895) p. 13.
42. 11 August 1825 : Kay (1833) p. 47.
43. 18 Dec. 1825 : J. Phillipps in Phillipps, 1820 Settler : his letters edited by A.M. Keppel-Jones (Johannesburg, 1961) p. 283.
44. Brownlee, MS 158c, Grey Collection.
45. 7 August 1822 : Shaw (1860) p. 329.
46. 10 and 16 April 1828 : Shaw in Hammond-Tooke (1972) pp. 111, 114.
47. 24 August 1824 : Ayliff in Hinchliff (1971) p. 31.
48. Rose (1829) p. 135.
49. Kay (1833) p. 469.
50. Bennie was given the title of "The Father of Kafir Literature" by Brownlee in 1824 : Godfrey (1934).
51. The specimens included the Lord's prayer, a morning prayer, thirty short questions, a part of the Creed, a doxology, and a part of the twenty-third psalm : Report of the G.M.S. : p. 30, 1822.
52. Shepherd (1971) p. 399.

53. Doke (1859) pp. 8-9.
54. T. Pringle, African Sketches (London, 1834) p. 523.
55. Brownlee in Thompson (1827) p. 457.
56. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 59.
57. Philip II (1828) pp. 186-8.
58. Rose (1829) pp. 135-6.
59. Bokwe (1914) p. 25.
60. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p. 9.
61. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p. 59.
62. Pringle differs only from Philip in his translation, being assisted in this by the Revd. Dr. Wright : Pringle (1834) p. 523.
63. The spelling mistakes in Rose's version (1829) p. 136, are either transcription or printing errors, while Kay (1833) p. 469, offers a slightly different English translation.
64. Steedman (1835) p. 32.
65. Godfrey (1934) p. 134. Bennie was a prolific hymn writer, 51 of his hymns appearing in the Presbyterian hymn book Incwadi Amaculo AseRabe
66. The Great hymn is No. 1 in what is thought to be the oldest hymnal which is a fragment with no title page. It is similar to No. 1 in the Wesleyan hymn book of 1835 except line 15 is missing. The other is No. 2 in an undated collection by Richard Niven printed at Chumie. It is the same as No. 1 in the Wesleyan hymn book of 1835 except for slight differences in orthography. Most of the hymn books I have examined are in the South African Library.
67. Le yincwadi yamaculo okuvunywa gamaxosa eziskolweni zaba-Wesley (This is the book of songs which are to be sung by the Kafirs in the schools of the Wesleyans) (Erini-Grahamstown, 1835).
68. W. Boyce, Grammar of the Kafir Language (1834) : see Doke (1859) p. 7.
69. J.W. Appleyard, The Kafir Language (King William's Town, 1850). This is the version quoted by Callaway (1870) p. 69, and Molema (1920) p. 160.
70. For a detailed discussion of all the different versions of the hymn see Hodgson (1980) pp. 17-19.
71. I have examined the following editions of the Wesleyan hymn book : 1835, 1839, 1843, 1849, 1851, 1856, 1862, 1866, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1898, 1926. The hymn is variously numbered 1, 2, 28, 29, 206 and 20. Different editions were published at King William's Town, Queenstown, Mt Coke and Grahamstown.
72. Opland (1983) p. 240.
73. Bokwe (1914) p. 30; B. Ntsikana (1902) p. 12.
74. MS 9069, Cory Library. Lovedale was founded by Ross and Bennie 12 miles to the south-east of Chumie in 1824. After it was destroyed during the war of 1834-5, it was rebuilt on a new site and there it remained.
75. Preface to Incwadi Yamaculo AmaXosa : AseRabe (Lovedale, 1929) p. iii. It has not been possible to examine a copy of this book prior to 1864.
76. The Presbyterian hymn books I have examined are the 2 undated ones and those of 1839, 1841, 1853, 1856, 1864, 1888, 1895, 1910, 1929 and 1975.
77. Bokwe (1914) p. 31. He republished the hymn in his English version of Ntsikana's story in the Christian Express in May 1879.
78. Bokwe (1914) p. 26.
79. Döhne founded the station Bethel near present-day Stutterheim :

Du Plessis (1965) p. 215.

80. Döhne (1844) pp. 69-71.
81. Kropf translation (1891) pp. 18-19.
82. Incwadi yamaculo (Mt Coke, 1856 and Berlin, 1882).
83. Incwadi enemitandazo namaculo gokwamaxosa (Bautzen, 1856).
84. In the editions examined it is no.100, St Peter's Mission, Transkei, 1875; no.62, Grahamstown, 1887; no.199, London (S.P.C.K.), 1901; no.274, London, 1930; no.274, Johannesburg, 1978. The hymn book compiled by S.J. Wallis, Lovedale, 1911, does not have the hymn. The last 5 hymn books are in the Church of the Province of S.A. Archives, Univ. of the Witwatersrand.
85. Amaculo Ase-Baptist (Grahamstown, 1832); Peace Memorial Baptist Hymnal (3rd ed) (East London, 1950).
86. Amaculo Ebandla lika Krestu (East London, 1963). For further information on this church see Pauw (1975) pp. 30-1.
87. Incwadi Yenkonzo Nama Culo (Durban, 1954).
88. U-Kristu Engomeni (Kenilworth, n.d.).
89. Hosana-Incwadi Yamaculo (1974).
90. Bongan' iNkosi (Lumko, 1979) no. 259, p.869.
91. Lumko Song Book (Lady Frere, 1984) nos.6 and 7.
92. Personal communication, Prof. M. West, Head of the Dept. of Anthropology, U.C.T., 16 August 1979.
93. Interview with M.S. Huna, author of the epic Untsikana, at Queenstown, 14 Feb. 1980.
94. This section is based on the discussion of the origin and propagation of traditional literature by G. Lestrade, "Traditional Literature" in The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa edited by I. Schapera (Cape Town, 1937) pp. 297-9.
95. Ibid., pp. 298-9.
96. The hymn has frequently been quoted over the years in a wide variety of contexts. See for example Cape Times, 2 July 1878; F.J. Peregrino, A Short History of the Native Tribes of South Africa, their manners and customs (London, 1900) pp.32-3; Shepherd (c1941) p.20.
97. Opland (1980) pp.106-20, and (1973). See also J. Opland, "From Horseback to Monastic Cell : the Impact on English Literature of the Introduction of Writing" in Old English Literature in Context : Ten Essays edited by J.D. Niles (London, 1980) and (1971).
98. Appleyard (1850) p. 47.
99. For a discussion on Xhosa oral poetry see Opland (1983) and "Southeastern Bantu Eulogy and Early Indo-European Poetry", Research in African Literatures 11 (3) : pp. 295-307, Fall 1980. See also Jordan (1973) chs. 1-3; W.F. Kuse, "The traditional praise poetry of Xhosa : Iziduko and izibongo" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973); Vilakazi (1946).
100. E.g. Kropf translation (1891) p.18.
101. Finnegan (1970) p. 130; Jordan (1973) pp. 17-18.
102. Jordan (1973) pp.20-1.
103. Ibid., pp. 50-1.
104. I am indebted to Prof. J. Opland for this insight.
105. Kropf (1915) p.42.
106. Opland, "Southeastern Bantu Eulogy" (1980) p.299.
107. The complex of functions performed by an imbongi is fully described in Opland (1983).
108. Lestrade (1937) p.295.
109. O.F. Raum, "Ntsikana" in Dictionary of South African Biography edited by W.J. de Kock (Cape Town, 1972) p. 596.
110. Brownlee, MS 158c, Grey Collection.

111. For further discussion : A. Shorter, "Symbolism, Ritual and History : an examination of the work of Victor Turner" in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) pp. 139-49.
112. G.C. Oosthuizen, "Attitudes towards Christian Churches in the Ciskei", African Studies XXV (2) : p. 88, 1966.
113. Finnegan (1970) pp. 58-9.
114. Opland (1983) pp. 150-1.
115. Ibid., p. 243.
116. I am indebted to the late Prof. Z.S. Qangule of the Dept. of African Languages, University of Fort Hare, for his "Analysis of the various literary devices used by Ntsikana to magnify the Universal God", interviews on 26 Oct. 1978 and 16 July 1969.
117. Qangule (1973) p. 15.
118. Opland (1983) p. 135.
119. Ibid., p. 264.
120. Finnegan (1970). Scheub discusses the importance of repetition for the development of the plot in the ntsomi tradition in his Introduction to A.C. Jordan, Tales from Southern Africa (Berkeley, 1973) pp. 3-9. See also Scheub (1975) p. 146.
121. D. Rycroft, "Zulu and Xhosa Praise Poetry and Song", African Music 3 : p.80, 1962. Alice Werner attempts to scan some lines of Ntsikana's hymn in "Some Native Writers in South Africa", Journal of the African Society XXX : p.35 (1931).
122. Opland (1980) p. 111.
123. Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p. 54.
124. I am indebted to P.J. Oosthuysen for a literal translation of the hymn that attempts to avoid a reading in of western Christian concepts; and to Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe for his insight into the Xhosa thought-patterns underlying Ntsikana's expression of Christianity. The chief was interviewed on countless occasions between 1978 and 1985. A recording of his address to the Federal Theological Seminary, Alice, 1971 (in the possession of Prof. H.W. Pahl) was also used.
125. According to Maingard (1934) p. 132, the Portuguese victims of shipwrecks record that the Africans they met made their shields of buffalo or elephant hide. Enseign Beutler (1752) is the first to mention ox-hide shields. This either indicates an early traditional method of making shields or that oxen were not plentiful enough to provide enough hides for shields.
126. Alberti (1807) p. 89; Kropf (1915) p. 177; Le Vaillant II (1790) p. 348.
127. Alexander II (1837) pp. 388-90; Soga (c1931) p.77.
128. E.g. Psalms 3 : 3, 18 : 2, 28 : 7, 33 : 20, 91 : 4.
129. Psalms 119 : 114, 144 : 2. See also 2 Samuel 22 : 31.
130. Genesis 15 : 1.
131. Kropf (1915) p. 280.
132. Ibid., p. 357.
133. E.g. Psalms 9 : 9, 18 : 2, 27 : 1, 144 : 2.
134. Kropf (1915) p. 156.
135. Kay (1833) pp. 33-4.
136. Alberti (1807) p. 90.
137. Interviews with Prof. Z.S. Qangule, 26 October 1978, and A.M.S. Sityana, 16 July 1979, Fort Hare. Ntaba kaNdoda has been set aside as a Heroes Acre by the Ciskei Government. Cf. other traditional African ideas about sacred groves in Mbiti (1970) p. 109.
138. F. Brownlee, The Transkeian Native Territories : Historical Records (Lovedale, 1923) p. 23.

139. Ndlambe to Kay, 1825 (1833) p. 73; Phato to Shaw (1860) p.358.
140. Kropf (1915) p. 459.
141. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, 2 Feb. 1985, kwaGwali.
142. E.g. 2 Samuel 22 : 2, Psalm 18 : 2.
143. Genesis 49 : 24.
144. It is noted that there is no difference between "Thou" and "You" in Xhosa. Bokwe (1914) p.26, translates Ungu Wena-wena as "Thou art Thou"; Appleyard (1850) p.48, as "It is Thou"; Holt (1954) p.113, as "Thou in Thyself"; D.J. Darlow in Shepherd (n.d.) p.20 as "Great "I am""; and Pauw (1975) p.65, as "You are the very One". Darlow's is closest to the biblical understanding of "Thou art Thou" as "I am that I am", the old translation of the name given to Moses, but this is a reading in of biblical scholarship.
145. Sundkler (1960) p. 104.
146. Kropf (1915) p. 303.
147. C. Brownlee (1955) pp. 40-1. This evidence was recorded between 1870 and 1890.
148. I. Wauchope, "Native Superstition", Fort Beaufort Advocate 19 April 1907.
149. Even if it does not rain the same day it is believed that it will rain within 2 or 3 weeks : interview with James Loots and Gabriel Loots, headman at Tambookiesvlei/Thwatwa, 17 July 1979.
150. Interview with G. du Preez at Ntsikana's grave, Thwatwa, 21 Oct. 1978. See also F. Brownlee (1944) pp. 23-4.
151. Anderson (1971) pp. 28-30. See also Bright (1956) pp. 96-9.
152. See cosmology in ch.1 and Gitywa (1978); Dwane (1979) p. 104; D. Kopke, "Concepts of Time among the Xhosa", Fort Hare Papers 7 (4) : p.234, 1982. Circumcized Xhosa men still count their age from this reference point, referring to their years of manhood as izilimela.
153. Soga (c1931) p.201.
154. 1841 was the year in which Sandile became paramount chief and is remembered by the comet Umgca : Kropf (1915) pp. 116-7. The appearance of Halley's Comet in 1910 was interpreted as bad news. For similar beliefs among other Africans : Kidd (1904) p. 109; Samuelson (1912) p.52; Willoughby (1932) p.184.
155. Judges 2. As summarized by Anderson (1971) p.101 :
"According to the Deuteronomic view, the history of the period followed a neat pattern. Israel's ups and downs illustrated the basic theological conviction of the Deuteromonic historian : obedience to Yahweh leads to welfare and peace; disobedience leads to hardship and defeat."
156. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, kwaGwali, 25 Oct. 1978.
157. Kropf (1915) p. 470.
158. Le Vaillant II (1790) p. 350; Barrow I (1801) p.215; Alberti (1807) pp.79-80; Campbell (1815) p.368.
159. P.R. Kirby, "The Musical Practices of the Native Races of South Africa" in Schapera (Cape Town 1937) pp.276-7, and The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa (2nd ed., Univ. of the Witwatersrand, 1968). Cf. the use of horns and trumpets elsewhere in Africa : J.H.K. Nketia, The Music of Africa (London, 1975) pp.95-7.
160. Kropf (1915) pp.337, 122.
161. "The fundamental tone and the first harmonic, which may or may not be in tune" : Kirby (1937) p.276.

162. Interview with Prof. H.W. Pahl, Alice, 13 July 1979.
163. Interviews with Rev. W.S. Gawe, Peelton, 12 July 1979, and Rev. C.C.M.D. Hoyana, East London, 11 July 1979.
164. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, Alice, 25 Oct. 1978, and address to the Federal Seminary, Alice, 1971.
165. Song sung by women of Tuka's location, Peddie district, Cape Province : Recording on The Sound of Africa Series, disc TR-26, side B, band 1 (International Library of Music, 1957) - transcription by D. Dargie (1983) p. 24.
166. Alexander (1837) p. 384; Steedman (1835) pp. 253-4.
167. Kropf (1915) p. 490.
168. Soga (c1931) pp.376-7. See also Alberti (1807) pp. 74-7; Alexander (1837) p.395; Kay (1833) pp.134-5; Thunberg I (1795) p.205.
169. Hammond-Tooke (1974) p.326.
170. Alberti (1807) p.48.
171. Hunter (1936/1961) p.232.
172. Pauw (1975) pp.132-3; Interview with M. Hirst, 26 May 1981.
173. Malan (1968) pp. 20-1.
174. Kropf (1915) p. 435.
175. Setiloane (1976) pp. 40-3.
176. Kropf (1915) p.327.
177. Bigalke (1969) pp.74-5.
178. Du Toit (1960) pp.134-5.
179. Kropf (1915) pp.283-4. See also Davis (1872) p.148.
180. B.W. Ntsikana (Gaba), Ityalike ye Sikumbuzo Sika Ntsikana (Port Elizabeth, 1945).
181. Kropf (1915) p.284.
182. Wilson I (1969) p.107.
183. Kropf (1915) p.153.
184. Ibid., p.5.
185. Alberti (1807) pp.91-2.
186. Interview with Prof. Z.S. Qangule, Fort Hare, 26 Oct. 1978.
187. Opland (1983) p.186.
188. For a discussion of the symbolic structure relating to these spatial categories see Hammond-Tooke (1975) pp.23-31.
189. Peires (1981) p.32, notes : "Royal ideology implied ... domination. It sought to entrench and accentuate the distinction between chief and commoner. Symbolically, the chief was thought of as a "bull" or an "elephant" whereas commoners were referred to as "dogs" or "black men"".
190. Hammond-Tooke (1975) p.32.
191. I am indebted to M. Hirst for this insight : interview at the Kaffrarian Museum, 26 May 1981.
192. Alberti (1807) p.83; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) pp. 333, 338.
193. Alberti (1807) p.83.
194. Soga (c1931) pp.30-1.
195. Again I am indebted to M. Hirst for this insight.
196. Steedman (1835) pp.31-2.
197. Ray (1976) p.91.
198. Schotia latifolia. The rough bark of the tree was used for dyeing red : Kropf (1915) p. 143.
199. W.G. Bennie, Iziqwenge zembali yamaxosa ezishicilelweyo (Cape Town, 1838) p.24 - MS 157, Grey Collection.
200. Entries for 15 and 19 Oct. 1800, Vanderkemp's Journal, Transactions I, p.425.
201. Wauchope (1908) p.24.
202. J. Nxumalo, "Christian Ancestor Cult : Syncretism or Synthesis?"

Paper read at the Regional Forum on Christianity in the African Context at Port Elizabeth, 18 Feb. 1983.

203. Kropf (1915) p.150.
204. Berglund (1976) p.198. Cf. Pauw (1975) p.172.
205. Evans-Pritchard (1956) ch.11; G. Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience. The Religion of the Dinka (Oxford, 1961) p.153.
206. Wilson (1971) p.33.
207. Soga (c1931) p.145.
208. Kropf (1915) pp.77-8, gives a detailed description of an idini.
209. S.E.K. Mqhayi, Idini (Johannesburg, 1928). This subject is dealt with at length in Qangule's thesis (1979, first draft) pp. 73-6. For a general discussion see P.E.S. Thompson, "The Anatomy of Sacrifice" in New Testament Christianity for Africa and the World. Essays in honour of Harry Sawyerr edited by M.E. Glasswell and E.W. Fasholé-Luke (London, 1974).
210. Mqhayi in Bennie (1935) p.190 (trans. by Qangule).
211. Laubscher (1937) p.64, maintains that the ancient blood symbolism was a redeeming factor in the Xhosa ritual killing which is applied to the new Christian context; but I suggest that the explicit understanding of sacrifice as expiation is a new development. Pauw (1975) pp.180-1, notes the wide variations in the ancestor rituals performed by Xhosa Christians today, in form as well as in interpretation.
212. Nxumalo (1983).
213. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p.59.
214. For contemporary descriptions see Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p.330; Steedman (1835) pp.55-6. See also Berglund (1976) pp.216-7; Hunter (1961) pp.242-3.
215. Kropf translation (1891) p.19.
216. Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) p.55, and Vimbe in Bennie (1935) p.8.
217. Kropf (1915) p.192.
218. Bokwe (1914) p.16.
219. Lecture by Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe at Fedsem, Alice, 1971.
220. The original form is used in Bennie (1935) p.1, and by the St Ntsikana Memorial Association in their service book : W.S. Gawe, IsiKhumbuzo sika-Ntsikana Ongcwele (Lovedale, n.d. c1962).
221. Drawing on a study of Victor Turner's work, Shorter says : "Symbolism, and especially ritual symbolism is the means by which a man shares his innermost experiences with other men. Through ritual man is able to express values which are otherwise inexpressible and to experience them as shared" : in Ranger and Kimambo (1972) p. 140.
222. Turner notes 4 observed structures within ritual - symbolic, value, telic and role : Ibid. And 3 levels or fields of meaning in a symbol - exegetical (indigenous interpretation), operational and positional : V.W. Turner, "Ritual Symbolism, Morality and Social Structure among the Ndembu" in African Systems of Thought edited by M.Fortes and G. Dieterlen (London, 1965) pp. 79-95.
223. Jordan (1973) p.17.
224. Opland (1983) p.67.
225. Opland (1973) p.68.
226. For descriptions of dancing see Alberti (1807) p.79; Rose (1829) p.88; Steedman (1835) p.6.
227. Damberger (1801) p.108; Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p.345; James Read senior (1815) quoted in Holt (1954) p.36.
228. Barrow I (1801) p.215; Beutler (1752); Sparrman II (1785)

pp.32-3.

229. The bow was more muffled and less audible than the jew's harp : Alberti (1807) p.80. Cf. Chapter on "The Gora, a stringed-wind instrument" in Kirby (1968).

230. Holden (1866) p.271. Campbell (1815) p.368.

231. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p.345. See also Barrow I (1801) p.215. For a discussion on Xhosa musical bows see D. Dargie, "Techniques of Xhosa music" (dissertation part I, first draft, 27 Nov. 1984) ch.1. See also McLaren (1918) pp.418-9.

232. Ibid., p.314.

233. Steedman (1835) p.265.

234. Alberti (1807) pp.79-80.

235. Thunberg I (1772) p.204; Campbell (1815) p.368.

236. Lichtenstein I (1812-15) p.345. His travels related to the years 1803-5. See also Kropf translation (1891) p.7.

237. Quoted in J. Machlis, Introduction to Contemporary Music (New York, 1961). I am indebted to Fr. D. Dargie for this quotation.

238. Holden (1866) p.272. See also G. Fritsch (1864-66) quoted in Opland (1983) pp.6-7.

239. J. Brownlee in Thompson (1827) p.457; Campbell (1815) p.368.

240. Finnegan (1970) pp.106-7; Kirby (1937) p.285; Lestrade (1937) pp.294-5; Nkonki (1968) pp.65-6; Vilakazi (1946) pp.77-80. For a general discussion of African songs : Nketia (1975) ch.17.

241. Nkonki (1968) pp.25, 72, 78-9, 104, 108. For a general discussion on African religious poetry see Finnegan (1970) ch.7.

242. Kropf defines inkondlo as "the dance which closes the intonjane (female initiation ceremony)" : (1915) p.192.

243. Vilakazi (1946) pp.77-80.

244. Kay (1833) p.47. The reference was made in 1825.

245. Steedman (1835) pp. 32, 224.

246. Philip (1828) p.186; Rose (1829) p.136.

247. Kirby (1937) p.286. Cf. Junod's description of Tsonga music : II (1927) p.296.

248. Vilakazi (1946) p.80.

249. Programme notes to the record disc GALP 1110, Music of Africa Series, no.18, Music from the Roadside, no.1, by Hugh Tracey (International Library of Music / ILAM, Roodepoort, n.d.).

250. This was supported by A.M.S. Sityana, interview at Fort Hare with Prof. H.W. Pahl interpreting, 16 July 1979.

251. Kropf (1915) pp.85-6, defines umdudo as "a formal outdoor dance in front of the kraal at a marriage feast, without which a marriage is not legal, or at in-Tonjane". He gives a description of the two main movements of the dance. See also Soga (c1931) pp.219-21, 236-8.

252. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p.9; Noyi in Bokwe (1914) pp.64-5; Vimbe in Rubusana (1906) p.4, Mqhayi (1972) p.93; personal communication, E.H. Bigalke, Director, East London Museum, 18 Sept. 1979.

253. Jordan (1973) p.20.

254. Interview with A.M.S. Sityana, Fort Hare, 16 July 1979; Kropf translation (1891) p.25.

255. Interview with B. Somhlahlo, Dept. of Social Science, Fort Hare, 25 Oct. 1978. In many African churches today the music of the services and revival meetings is accompanied by dancing.

256. This section is based on D. Dargie, "The Music of Ntsikana", South African Journal of Musicology 2 : pp.7-27, 1982.

257. Dargie (1984) p.55.

258. The only Khoi music we have heard is a tape of Nama reed flute

music recorded by Prof. P.R. Kirby in 1931 near Windhoek, and re-recorded by the B.B.C. in 1964 (in the African Museum, Johannesburg). Although the instruments are indigenous the music is European in character and resembles "tikkie-draai" music. It shows no link whatsoever with Xhosa music nor does it show any type of indigenous Nama music. An examination of Nama music transcribed by Dr Leonhard Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari (Jena, 1907), is also disappointing. The transcriptions are unsatisfactory as they are brief and written with European notes and scales. At the top of p.381 there is a 4 bar phrase of music which shows similarity with the "Ele, le, le, homna" in Ntsikana's music; but according to Fr. D. Dargie it is the typical two-way shift Xhosa harmony found in much other African music. The Xhosa speciality is the raised fourth but there is no available evidence to link it with Khoi music. Although some Khoi instruments have been preserved, the singing of their music has been lost. For a description of "Hottentot" music and dancing see Sparrman I (1785) pp.355-6. This was recorded ten years earlier.

259. See "Khoisan influence on Xhosa music" in Dargie (1984) pp.20-1. Dargie provides some interesting insight into Khoi music based on his observations in working with Damara musicians in the Gobabis area of Namibia.

260. Finnegan (1970) pp.180-1. The San hymns are characterized by repetition and parallelism in their content.

261. J.S. Mbiti, The Prayers of African Religion (London, 1975) p.113; Schapera (1951) pp.379-81.

262. E.g. entry for 8 Feb. 1900, Vanderkemp's Journal, Transactions 1, p.414.

263. Kay (1802) reported that the early Khoi converts at the L.M.S. stations still favoured worshipping in the open by moonlight, as in their tradition : quoted in Sales (1974) pp.35-6.

264. Wauchope (1908) p.22.

265. Bokwe's father, Jacob, was one of the pupils admitted on the opening day of Lovedale Semminary on 21 July 1841. For a short biography of J.K. Bokwe see Shepherd (1955) ch.20.

266. Bokwe to Mrs Stewart, 13 June 1891, MS in Cory Library.

267. Kirby notes that Bokwe wrote in tonic solfa and later transcribed into staff notation : Letter to Mrs. Z.K. Matthews, MS 11074, Cory Library. According to Mqhayi (1925), Bokwe inherited his musical skills from his father.

268. Hansen (M.A. thesis 1968) pp.35-7.

269. An appreciation of John Knox Bokwe by A.W.R, Cape Times, 2 March 1922, MS 1092, Cory Library.

270. Bokwe (1914) p.26.

271. Christian Express, p.15, May 1879; Bokwe (1914) p.31.

272. T. Soga to Rev. Somerville, 1858, quoted in Chalmers (1877) p.161.

273. J.W.W. Owen to Editor, The Methodist Churchman ; p.7, 10 July 1916.

274. Bokwe to Rev. A. Kropf, 5 Oct. 1886, in Bokwe Letterbook I : p.283, 1882-1889.

275. Dargie maintains that Bokwe's arrangement of the Great hymn is in fact a combination of 2 melodies which should be sung one by a leader (umhlabeli) and one by the follower (umlandeli) in the song. The melody which he transcribed to the text "Ele le le le le home, hom, hom-na" in Christian Express, Nov. 1878, and its variants in the Ntsikana publications of 1904 and 1914, is a

variant of the leader melody. Comparison with the Great hymn melody as found in Christian Express, May 1879, shows that the four notes "s f m r " are the same as the four notes of "Ele le le hom" melody. The consequent series of notes "l s l s l s m s r m d l" is derived from the follower part as discovered by Dargie in the recordings of the traditional performances of the Great hymn in the Lumko district in 1981 and 1983 : D. Dargie (1982) p.25 and "Some Recent Discoveries and Recordings in Xhosa Music" (to be published by ILAM in Papers presented at the Fifth Symposium on Ethnomusicology at U.C.T., August/September 1984).

276. Bokwe (1904) p.20.
277. Bokwe (1914) pp.18-19, 23-6.
278. Undated manuscripts in Cory Library. Dargie notes that the arrangement of the Great hymn in staff notation is almost the same as the tonic solfa transcription but in writing it out Bokwe has observed gaps and filled them : MS 11085.
279. I am indebted to Fr D. Dargie for the insights in this and the following passage : interview, Somerset West, 26 March 1985.
280. Record disc TR-26 (A), Sound of Africa Series (ILAM, n.d.).
281. For a general discussion on the limitations of the tonic solfa method in African musical development : Weman (1960) pp.117-8.
282. My understanding of Ntsikana's music is based on analyses by Fr. D. Dargie : "Some comments on the musical style of the four hymns attributed to Ntsikana" (7 August 1978), "Some notes on the Music of Ntsikana" (31 August 1979), "The Music of Ntsikana. An Introduction to Xhosa Music" (Second draft, July 1983).
283. For a comparison of the musical style of the Round hymn and the Great hymn see Examples in Appendix V. (A and B) taken from Dargie (1982) Appendices B and C.
284. For a discussion on Xhosa music see Dargie (1983).
285. Kirby to Mrs. Z.K. Matthews, 1 Nov. 1959, MS 11074, Cory Library.
286. For a transcription of a piece in this style : D. Dargie, Church Music Workshops, Lumko Workshop composition no. 67 (Lumko, 1979).
287. Dargie (1982) Appendix D.
288. These performances were recorded at Mckay's Nek (1981, uhadi bow), Sikhwankqa (1981, with clapping), and Lumko (1983, uhadi bow); and the recordings have been published on Lumko music tapes nos. 43 and 85, and also on tape 98 (called Ntsikana Music Collection). For a discussion of this music : Dargie (1982 and 1984).
289. Interview with Fr. D. Dargie, Somerset West, 26 March 1985.
290. Interview with Rev and Mrs. W.S. Gawe, Peelton, 12 July 1979.
291. Examples in Appendix V: Dargie (1982).
292. Ibid.
293. Another example given by Dargie :
Leader : "He! Nankok' uDalubom - He! Behold the Life-Creator..."
Chorus of Followers : Ahom, na, homna, ... etc.
Leader : (Verses related to the Creator)
"Ulo dal'ubom, wadala phezulu,
Lo Mdal'owadala, wadala izulu etc."
294. Interview with Fr. D. Dargie, 26 March 1985.
295. Programme notes to the record disc GALP 1110.
296. For recordings of all the different versions of the hymn see Ntsikana Music Collection, tape no. 98 (Lumko, 1984).

6. LAST DAYS

In this chapter I shall be looking at the final stages in Ntsikana's growth as a Christian and his presentation of a system of belief to his people. His prophecy about the last things shows the radical development of an eschatological concept, while his last words to his family and followers show a strong sense of individual as well as of corporate growth.

6.1 NTSIKANA'S PROPHECY ABOUT THE LAST THINGS

6.1.1 Eschatology and Messianism

The typical response of the African to Christainity during our period, as with all oppressed people, is to appropriate the apocalyptic expectation. The traditional African view of time as being non-linear excludes the idea of divine intervention in history and an end to the present order. (1) In discussing the traditional African view of the afterlife in relation to eschatology, Ray says :

> What is of importance here is not the afterlife itself but the way in which the dead continue to be involved in this life among the living. There is little speculation about "last things" - that is, about the nature of the afterlife or about immortality or final judgment - for there are no "last things" towards which human life is headed. There is no vision of a culminating "end" to individual lives or to human history in general. Unlike Western religious thought, speculation about the meaning of human existence does not project forward to a distant and transcendent future ; it projects back upon itself to the present, in cyclical fashion, to the all important now. Thus, the afterlife and the notion of personal immortality have meaning only in concrete terms in relation to the present life of the community. (2).

The discovery of a future dimension of time in the African context has often been in a situation of oppression or persecution, or, at the least, political instability. Mbiti comments : "In Church life this discovery seems to create a strong expectation of the millennium". (3)

Ntsikana's prophecy about the last things is said to

have been made during the time of his wanderings shortly before his death. It shows that as he grew in insight into the Christian tradition so he developed an eschatological concept ; but, like his other teaching, it is couched in symbolic language and makes use of familiar imagery to convey the new concepts for which the traditional thought-patterns were quite inadequate.

> To show that sin will have increased in the world, there will smoke even a young child. I see the plumes of the Gaikas waving on the borders of the Kei. I see the forests full of roads, and the trees split into splinters, (or planks - amacingi) . In the distance, there comes a great war of races, which will cause men to wade almost knee-deep in blood. There will be fighting and fighting, and then a time of respite, in which there will be a friendly giving of tobacco (ncazela) to each other. Then, at the last, there will be a general rising, in which a mother will quarrel with her own daughter and daughter-in-law ; the son will rise against his father, and friend against friend. Men will stab each other's shoulders (ezixingeni), and there will be such crossing, and re-crossing, as can only be likened to ants gathering stalks of dried grass (imicinga). But these things are only as the travail-pains of child-birth.
>
> Then the end will come, - the beginning of peace for which there had been no preconcerted council, or arrangement, or man. The reign of BROAD-BREAST (Sifuba-Sibanzi) will commence and continue in the lasting peace of the Son of Man. (4)

Before going on to discuss Ntsikana's eschatology and messianism we need to distinguish the forces at work in shaping the image of a Messiah. (5) For a start, the messianic hope can either be particularistic or universalistic. Particularism would almost certainly be militaristic because if we are down and suffering under an oppressive power, then we will look to the Messiah to rescue us and restore us. If, on the other hand, we are looking for a universal solution to the deficiencies of man and his world, then the Messiah is the one who brings fullness of life.

On another level we can distinguish between a this-wordly and an other-worldly messianic figure. When Israel was confident in history, as during the prophetic period, the prophets looked towards a blessed future which was in historic continuity with the present, and which was at times particular and at other times universal. Such was Micah's view of the last days (chapter 4). Then came the period of disillusionment when Israel lost its faith in history, and the people either went back to cyclical time, as seen in the wisdom literature, or they came to understand the blessed future in radical discontinuity with the historical present, as with the apocalyptic writers. In the prophetic period, therefore, the Messiah is understood as an historical figure, as a greater David, a genuine son of Man. Whereas if the future is discontinuous, the expectation is of an ahistorical solution, an immediate divine intervention in this world when the one breaking in, the Messiah, has to be understood at least as the agent of this divine intervention, if not as himself divine. In practice these different possibilities are not alternatives, but rather two axes : particular - universal, this-worldly - other-worldly ; and all messianic ideas can be placed somewhere along them.

In this study Nxele has been shown to be particularistic and apocalyptic. He is looking for a messianic event which will break into this present time. Ntsikana, on the other hand, has to be understood in two stages. The first part of his prophecy of the last things relates to immediate events and the foreseeable future. This corresponds with the first stage in his ministry where Ntsikana is shown to be dealing with a universalistic and historical affirming development. There might be pain and struggle at the present, but he looks forward to the growth of a time of peace and brotherhood. Indeed his preferred images for the Messiah are the Lamb once offered and the earthly David. However, he is committed to an image of the Messiah as being both human and divine. But for him the Messiah is primarily a past event and he is mainly concerned with growth through grace rather than with a climactic eschaton. If there had to be divine intervention it took place a long time ago, in incarnation, rather than materializing in some future happening.

The second part of the prophecy is concerned with the consequence of divine intervention in history. Events preceding the end are depicted as being so cataclysmic that they cannot be fitted into a recycling experience of the past but constitute the most significant aspect of time set at some point in the future. This corresponds with the

second stage in Ntsikana's ministry, during his wandering period, when he is threatened by chaos on all sides. We will be seeing that he now has his faith in history shaken and begins to look for discontinuity between this world and the future hope. This means that he at least gains a linear sense of history because the focus point is at the end. But he moves a long way from the Search Stage, in which the Poll-headed image is so central, towards the Paradoxical or apocalyptical stage. The prophecy therefore ends on an eschatological note which introduces the idea of a sense of history moving towards an end, of judgement against sin, of the breaking in of God's kingdom and of the expectation of a Messiah who will inaugurate a new era of peace. (6)

Ntsikana's use of the Son of Man suggests a familiarity with Mark in particular. Moreover, his depiction of the signs of Christ's coming to judgement clearly match the relevant passages in Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21, while his view of the future glory of Christ can be linked with any number of references in the Old and New Testaments. (7) What is significant, though, is not so much the source of Ntsikana's insight from missionary teaching, but the choices he exercises and the use he makes of them, for they reveal the man himself in his concrete situation. (8)

6.1.2 Ntsikana's Use of Imagery

The form of Ntsikana's prophecy would have been familiar to his people in that the signs of the end could be seen to correspond with omens regarding coming events in the near future as revealed by an imboni. But the content of the prophecy was something new because it emerged from a totally different world view. It is a comparatively straightforward attempt to clothe the biblical account of the eschatological vision in African imagery, and relate it to the Xhosa situation.

Ntsikana's use of the image of a child smoking to symbolize an "increase in sin" is clearly drawn from Xhosa thought-patterns. Tobacco was widely grown throughout Xhosaland and it was smoked in a long-stemmed pipe made of clay, wood or animal horn. Smoking was an integral part of the social life of both men and women, as well as having ritual and symbolic significance. In company the pipe would be circulated round the group and smoked in silence. But small girls and boys did not smoke and were never included in this ritual. (9) In Falati's version of the prophecy, his description of a child being seen with a pipe

of tobacco protruding from his mouth, which he smoked in turn with his father, would have been regarded as an outrageous breach of custom. By depicting this transgression as the norm, Ntsikana vividly expresses the extent of the social dislocation to come. Here he is still functioning within the old tradition which represents sin as an offence against society rather than as an offence against God.

The reference to "the plumes of the Gaikas waving on the borders of the Kei" relates to the immediate conflict situation with the whites, as does the deforestation and carving up of the country in a network of roads. The plumed ones were the veteran Xhosa warriors who were distinguished by their head ornamentation of sacred blue crane feathers, as opposed to the bareheaded young men called the round heads. (10) Ntsikana's reference to the cream of the Ngqika warriors being seen on the banks of the Kei River is a prediction of the total nature of their dispossession and displacement from their ancestral land in the Amalole basin to the furthest borders of Kaffraria, and possibly to their last desperate attempt to fight back. This prophecy was realized after the war of 1835-6 when the Ngqika were relocated on the west bank of the Kei, followed forty years later, after the last frontier war, by their removal to Transkei.

The felling of the forest and the penetration of roads not only depicts the ecological devastation resulting from the march of western civilization, nor even the loss of their safe refuge, but more importantly the complete disruption of their monistic world view caused by the white incursion. Land was not secular. Earth, sky, water and forest were a whole, permeated by divinity. Their harmony had to be maintained and integrated into, the proper relationships observed. It was an abomination to alienate and cut up the land and to despoil the forest. Misfortune must surely follow, which would effect them all. This is borne out in the next prediction: a great war of races.

"In the distance" indicates Ntsikana's concern with an indefinite future which is beyond the traditional Xhosa concept of time. Fighting, on the other hand, was very much part of their present experience. The bloodbath which Ntsikana depicts, however, implies conflict on a far wider scale and more extreme than the feuding between chiefdoms and the previous frontier warfare. The carnage caused by British guns in recent battles would have given them a foretaste of things to come.

In Falati's account, the combatants in the great war are described as fighting to the point of exhaustion, when

they can only gaze at one another. Then there will be an armistice. This is symbolically represented by Ntsikana as "the friendly giving of tobacco (ncazela) to each other". According to Gitywa, "social interaction, even among complete strangers, is always centred on asking for a pipeful of tobacco, ingwaxa, and smoking together. The action of asking for tobacco is called ukuncaza". (11) The "friendly giving of tobacco" is thus a gesture of goodwill and fellowship, and symbolizes reconciliation. In a ritual context it is used as a means of establishing reconciliation with the spirit world. On certain occasions, though, tobacco can be asked for in such a way as to have derogatory connotations and can be an act of aggression. (12) There is also the suggestion, although a less firm piece of evidence, that the frequent ejaculation of spittle which accompanies pipe-smoking can be regarded as a cleansing from anger, and can also symbolically express peace and goodwill. (13) Snuff is used in peacemaking too, because the Xhosa will only take snuff together when a quarrel has been settled and tempers cooled. (14)

As we have seen, traditional custom was based on right relations between people, and these were hedged around with ritual observances and reciprocal obligations which ensured a sense of belonging to the community. Ntsikana's account of the "general rising ... at the last", when there would be fighting between family members and between friends, symbolizes the total breakdown of society and depicts the catastrophic aspect of the last days. The reference to men stabbing each other's shoulders may well symbolize the end of the old order, as the shoulder-blades were a part of the body associated particularly with the ancestors, (15) and the ancestors were the guardians of the social and moral order. Or it may have been meant to imply that men had turned traitor. The image of the hectic activity of ants, often associated with the approach of a storm, portrays the utter confusion that would prevail. Ntsikana thus attempts to impart some sense of the apocalyptic view of the radical discontinuity which would signify the end of the present order. At the same time, by comparing their suffering with the "travail-pains of childbirth", he suggests continuity which will endure through pain. Once more he uses imagery relating to the concept of new life in God which is fundamental to his understanding of the Christian experience of renewal.

The prophecy ends with the proclamation of God's message that when the end comes the Son of Man will inaugurate a new era of righteousness and peace. This

introduces the radical idea that history is under God's determination and that no man knows when the end will be. Further, the idea of discontinuity in the divine intervention is portrayed by contrasting the special way of God in having no arranged meeting, with the type of negotiations for peace carried out by the Xhosa. A pause in battle would be the occasion for setting up a peace conference, with the warring chiefs exchanging proposals and counter-proposals through their emissaries until satisfactory terms could be agreed upon. (16) The British followed somewhat different tactics, with the vanquished chiefs being given no option but to accept their terms. But the principle of men negotiating for peace still held, and was just as fallible.

By representing the consummation of God's coming kingdom as the commencement of the reign of Broad-Breast, Ntsikana relates a novel theological image to yet another familiar political image, the rule of a chief. The name of Broad-Breast, Sifuba-Sibanzi, was derived from banzi meaning broad or wide, and isifuba meaning the human chest. (17) It is possible that the idea of portraying Christ in terms similar to Bunyan's Great-heart originated with Vanderkemp because we know that he drew inspiration from The Pilgrim's Progress. (18) Moreover, the moral teaching and allegorical structure of Bunyan's book was to prove a popular means of giving religious instruction in the African mission field. As a result much of the early writing of the Xhosa in particular followed this model. (19) The warrior figure of Great-heart armed with sword, helmet and shield, and ready "to fight the good fight of faith", would have appealed to the Xhosa converts during the turbulent years of the nineteenth century. The expectations in times of war are the expectations of a righteous warrior as Saviour, as was the case with the Children of Israel. Bokwe, for one, actually compares the name of Sifuba-Sibanzi for the Saviour with Great-heart, (20) while, according to Falati, Ntsikana had some such understanding, as he used the name "the Conqueror" for Christ in conjunction with Broad-Breast in his prophecy about the last things. (21)

The question is, who coined the name Broad-Breast, Vanderkemp or Ntsikana? The evidence of Wauchope points to Vanderkemp, (22) but this has already been shown to be confused. Moreover, although the word "breast" appears on the missionary's list, "broad" is missing. On the other hand the Xhosa links are strong, the name being identified with a legendary Xhosa figure. People coming to Christ from a certain culture will tend to see him in terms of

their own heroes. (23) In this case he could be identified with the mythical figure of the young chief Broad Breast, in "The Story of Mbulukazi", as recorded from the oral tradition by Theal in 1886 in his collection of "Kaffir folk tales". (24)

The young chief is said to have been given the name Broad Breast "because his chest was very wide, and it was also made of a glittering metal that shone in the sun". This figure could be seen to be related to John's picture of the Son of Man in the first chapter of the Book of Revelation. The transfiguration of Christ and Paul's vision on the road to Damascus are also possibilities. (25) In both the Xhosa and the biblical sources the radiance is likened to the shining of the sun. It could be argued that by the time Theal recorded the folk-tale about Broad Breast the Xhosa oral tradition had been augmented with ideas borrowed from the Bible. But Theal stated that he had collected his material from a group of aged amaNgqika, one of whom was a celebrated native antiquary. Even more telling, there is abundant evidence to show that this theme together with a number of variations is common in African tradition.

Formerly there is said to have been no specific word for "metal" in Xhosa so that intsimbi, iron, the commonest metal, was used to denote metal in general. (26) Gqoba, writing in 1885, claims that in earlier times the Zulu smelted their own iron, copper, silver and gold ; and that the chief councillors in those days wore a kind of breast-plate called ubengo (from ukubengezela to glitter). (27) This covering was used to protect the breast from the Nqosoro or Ngqosini archers. It was polished so as to shine very brightly and could be seen at a great distance.(28) Be that as it may, the figure of Broad-Breast can be related to the legendary princes of the Xhosa who are human on one side and iron on the other, as for example "Ironside" in Theal's collection of folklore. (29) There are similar stories among the Sotho (30) and the Masai (31). In Sotho folklore there is also a story about a chief who was clothed in a shining iron garment. (32) Some of the folk-tales feature the radiance coming from the image of a moon, either half or full, on the breast, (33) and one refers to the sign of the sun and the stars as well. (34) In these stories the hero is invariably the lost hidden-away heir to the chieftainship who comes into his own when he is recognized by his moon birthmark. The association between the moon and metal is rather elusive to pin down but the shining of the human body appears to be the connecting link. (35)

Another link can be established through the concept of the coming again of the dead, a common theme in African myth and legend. In Xhosa thought-patterns the ancestors and people of the river are often depicted as being fair-skinned or radiant. (36) One account from Central Africa even has a description of the spirits wearing shining clothes. (37)

In the folk-tale about Broad-Breast, the story revolves around the marriage of the young chief to two sisters, the one being depicted as very black and unattractive and the other as lighter in colour and pretty. This is a typical theme of the false bride and the true bride ; but even more significant is the theme of death and resurrection by going through a deep pool of water. This is the lot of the beautiful bride, Mbulukazi, when her jealous sister brings about her death through drowning. The unusual part of the story is the way in which Mbulukazi's ox is responsible for letting her people know, leading them to the pool rescuing her body from the water and bringing her back to life by licking her. (38) Although there is no firm evidence, there could be an association of ideas here with Ntsikana's favourite ox, Hulushe, which was supposed to have had supernatural power and to have played a key role in the prophet's visions.

If the name Sifuba-Sibanzi was derived from Xhosa myth it certainly was not Vanderkemp's doing as there is no evidence whatsoever of his knowledge of Xhosa folklore. Whatever the origin of the praise-name Kropf regards Ntsikana as being responsible and it certainly struck a chord with his countrynmen for after his time it became a name by which the first Christians identified themselves, a symbol of belonging. (39) This is taken up in the literary tradition by Mqhayi. (40)

The prophecy ends by saying that the reign of Broad-Breast will "continue in the lasting peace of the Son of Man". This raises a number of problems. One was the concept of eternal life. This was difficult to impart to a people who believed that the Golden Age is what has happened : that things only become real when they have entered into the past and can be recovered through ritual. Herein lay the attraction of Nxele's apocalyptic expectations because they entailed ritual slaughtering and were projected onto the immediate future as a coming-to-be of the cosmogonic myth. In contrast, Ntsikana's teaching demanded the discovery of a future dimension of time in the unknown. His appreciation of the coming Kingdom of God as a continuation was another significant step into the goal-oriented world view. Yet even though the prophecy

about the "last things" was concerned with an eschatological salvation, understood as distant future, a main thrust of his teaching was concerned with translating salvation into here and now, relating it to the existential situation of his people.

As Ntsikana developed a sense of the transcendence of deity so did he gain an understanding of the righteousness of God as well as a strong sense of His love. The aspect of love can only be emphasized in terms of a person and Ntsikana's concern with the return of the Son of Man shows a Christian understanding of this concept. However, at some stage his use of parallelism for calling Sifuba-Sibanzi the Son of Man is misunderstood, as happens even in the biblical tradition. By the time of the Cattle Killing (1856-7) we end up with two figures, Sifuba-Sibanzi and his son, which are appropriated by the traditionalists as the power symbols which personify their messianic hopes. In the process, Ntsikana's prophecy of eternal peace becomes the name of the son, Napakade. Kropf gives the meaning of napakade as "that which has no bounds, never ends, eternity", (41) but this shows mission influence. "Always present" may have been closer to the earlier meaning.

According to Gqoba's account (c1880s), the chief Napakade (Forever), the son of Sifuba-Sibanzi (Broad-chested), was responsible for giving the prophetess Nongqawuse her instructions about killing cattle and destroying grain, and it was he who would be leading the chiefs when they rose corporately from the dead. (42) Although the Cattle Killing itself was an act of passive resistance, the messianic hope was militaristic in that the national sacrifice was aimed at summoning the ancestors to their aid in ridding them of the white men. The Christian notion of the devil, Satan, was identified with the leader of the whites, Governor Sir George Grey. He was said to be mounted on a grey horse, so linking his name with a colour symbolizing the traditional concept of evil. Thus the belief was that, on the eighth day "all those who did not slaughter their cattle would become the subjects of the chief named Satan, and such people would not see the glory of our own chief, Napakade, son of Sifubasibanzi". (43)

6.1.3 Ntaba kaNdoda : the holy mountain

Two early accounts of Ntsikana's story recall that he ended his prophecy by saying that Broad-Breast will "collect you (the Xhosa) and return you to Ntaba kaNdoda, the mountain of Ndoda". (44) The meaning of indoda is a

man (plural amadoda) ; (45) but oral tradition maintains that Ndoda was a Khoi chief living on the mountain when Rharhabe first entered the land in the mid-eighteenth century. A bloody battle with the Khoi ensued in which Ndoda was killed. His wife, Chieftainness Hoho, negotiated peace terms with Rharhabe in which he took possession of the land between the headwaters of the Keiskamma and Buffalo Rivers in exchange for a large number of cattle. This included Ntaba kaNdoda and the nearby forests of Hoho. (46)

The rounded dome of the mountain juts prominently out from the Amatole range and is said to look like the head of a man. (47) In local tradition it is represented as "an ideal councillor of state : wise, experienced, ancient witness of historical events". (48) But its mystical significance goes deeper. By the end of the nineteenth century, the sacred associations of mountain and forest generally found in Xhosa thought-patterns had become enriched by the belief that Ntaba kaNdoda was "the place of worship for fathers and chiefs", a sanctuary for the army, and the resting place of the great ones, who died defending the land against the invaders. (49) In fact none of the leading chiefs are known to have been buried there ; but in the successive frontier wars from 1835 on, the dense bush on the northern flank served as a Xhosa stronghold and was often the scene of fierce fighting with the British forces. Sandile, who was killed in an ambush while trying to escape from the forest further north, was buried near Isidenge. (50) In Ntsikana's day, the battle of Amalinde was fought on the plain near Ntaba kaNdoda, with heavy loss of life ; but it would seem that the mystical associations are far older and have Khoisan roots.

There is a legend of a mythical snake who was said to live in a secret pool on the top of the mountain. Rharhabe children were told that they would die if they went there because the snake was dangerous. Its refuge was the nocturnal meeting place of witches too, which added to the mystique. Legend relates that the snake covered itself with the mist that often hangs around the mountain in certain seasons. It could fly and would raise the mist before taking off. As it flew round the country it would bring rain wherever it went, or else a thick mist or fog, so that nobody could see it. (51) The name of the snake was ggoloma, translated as python. (52)

The references to snake and rain are an allusion to rainmaking and appear to be derived from Khoi and San beliefs. Tradition relates that a certain mountain in the area called Gqira (Xhosa for a traditional doctor),(53) was

the home of San rainmakers, (54) while Ndoda himself is reputed to have been a rainmaker. We know that the first Xhosa in the area patronized Khoi and San rainmakers, hence the diffusion of ideas. In the early San cave paintings the python is sometimes linked with rain, (55) but this needs further research. What is certain is that snakes feature in rainmaking practices.

Among the Mpondo, the rainmaker will smear his ox-hide robe with the fat of a specially killed beast and lie all night on a rock next to a pool in the river. It is said that during the night a mist will come over the water, and a great snake will rise up and lick the fat off the skin. When the pool subsides the mist will form clouds and rain will fall. (56) Similar beliefs and practices are found among the Zulu. (57)

Nguni symbolism associates the python with coolness, embodying the understanding of both the physically cold and with calmness, great power expressed in physical strength and ability, fertility, and togetherness or undivided oneness. Rain is seen as "the fertilizing of the earth by the sky". (58) Significantly the symbolism of togetherness is expressed in the use of a python's skin as the emblem of national unity in the Zulu cultural liberation movement, Inkatha yesizwe. It is that which binds them together. (59) Ntsikana had a similar understanding in his use of imbumba yamanyama, the ball of scrapings from a tanned hide, as a symbol of unity for his followers, which will be discussed in the next section. But the snake symbols may well be contained in his idea of Ntaba kaNdoda being a symbol of Xhosa national unity.

On another level, just as Ntsikana has translated all the other biblical images into an African idiom, so does he translate the messianic expectation of the return of God to Mt Zion in Jewish thought. There is thus the idea of Ntaba kaNdoda as Zion, the holy mountain where the ancestors are, becoming the focus of the land as in the biblical tradition. Mqhayi notes that in the African tradition, mountains, which were places of refuge and strongholds in wartime, became symbols of unity for many different people during the nineteenth century. He thus compares Ntaba kaNdoda with Thaba Bosiu for the Sotho and Thaba Nchu for the Rolong. (60) Among the Xhosa, certain rivers are also symbols of clan unity. Part of the Ngqosini clan are said to live under Cihoshe's pool, isiZiba sikaCihoshe, although the exact location is not known, while Ngwanya's pool in the Thina River is a bond that unites the Mpondomise. (61) It is abundantly evident that the symbolic relationships on which Ntsikana draws to represent Ntaba kaNdoda as a symbol

of unity involves interweaving patterns on all these different levels so as to give authority to the incorporation of the widest possible sense of belonging, for uniting the warring Xhosa chiefdoms.

Nearly a hundred years later, Mqhayi uses his praise-poetry to return to Ntsikana's idea of Ntaba kaNdoda as Zion, the holy mountain, "the great shrine of the nation". He too draws deeply from both Xhosa and Christian traditions to give symbolic legitimation. Historical authority is provided in the role of the mountain as a focal point for past heroes : it was their impenetrable fortress in battle and they would always point towards it when making pronouncements. (62) Religious authority is given in its being seen as the physical link between the Xhosa, their ancestors and God. In his poem "Ntaba kaNdoda" (1914), Mqhayi describes it as "the mountain of heavenly peace" from which the ancestors will rise on the last day and worship God. At the same time, it is on the heights of the mountain that the Xhosa, through the spirits of their ancestors and "time-honoured heroes", are able to recover a vision of the former glory of their land - a land of beauty, wealth and plenty - and their former independence - "the unfettered land of Ciskei" - and so develop a vision for the future. Significantly this was written shortly after the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913. All Xhosa are called upon to honour and bless this mountain, the holy of holies where the chiefs must take their oath of loyalty, and where Mqhayi himself is able to embrace the feet of his creator, "the Lord my Father up above", through prayer. Thus he too uses the biblical image of Mt Zion, and he continues to remember Ntsikana as the one who originally prophesied that Ntaba kaNdoda would be "a dwelling place for the Xhosa nation" : (63) indeed "Jerusalem was builded here".

A prophecy which is popularly attributed to Ntsikana is that he saw a large snake sailing along the mountain with many people in its stomach. (64) This turned out to be the "fire-wagon" or train which has carried so many sons and daughters of the Xhosa away, on the railway line that runs past Ndoda's mountain, to the city. The earliest written version of this prophecy seems to be that of Mqhayi in 1926, (65) and it is probably apocryphal showing how the living tradition grows to incorporate the present into the past. The wide publicity for Mqhayi's writing in a school reader has perpetuated this tradition, and its historical verification in migrant labour has given it authority, so strengthening the case for the mountain being seen as a symbol of Ciskei nationalism. We will return later to see how this has been used for political purposes.

6.2 THE END OF NTSIKANA'S LIFE

6.2.1 Premonitions and Preparations

The year of Ntsikana's death is variously given as 1820, 1821 and 1822, but the evidence indicates the autumn of 1821. Brownlee settled at Gwali on 6 June 1820, and was joined shortly afterwards by a small group of the Kat River people. In June the following year their numbers were greatly augmented by about one hundred of Ntsikana's people, he having recently died. (66)

The oral tradition provides further details. Balfour recalls that they had returned from their flight to Tambo, after the Battle of Amalinde, and one ploughing season had passed when Ntsikana was taken ill. (67) They were then staying at Nontluto, near Blinkwater in the Fort Beaufort district. Ntsikana had the first premonition of his death and told his wife to make porridge from the green kaffir-corn, incombo. She answered that the corn was not yet ripe enough to cook, to which he replied : "You may not be aware that perhaps I may not live to eat of this corn". (68) But he told his people only that it was his legs that were troubling him. (69)

It was at this stage that Ntsikana met Brownlee and made plans to follow him to Gwali after reaping his corn. However, the ill-treatment by the English people who had moved into the area precipitated their early departure, just as the corn was ready to be harvested. They got as far as their former home at Thwatwa when Ntsikana became seriously ill, and could go no further. Wet weather aggravated his illness and his people were filled with a great sadness.

One day Ntsikana called his faithful messenger, Ncamashe, to carry the following message to Ngqika :

> I am only your light. The servant (messenger) of God is now going home. Where did you ever see a servant that did not return to his master, after he had been sent? Let all the people pray. Pass this word on to Ndlambe, and Ndlambe to Hintsa, and Hintsa to Ngubengcuka, and say these are my words to all three chieftainships. Every people which does not hurl the javelin (spear) of God will be destroyed, but all such as hurl the javelin shall never be shaken. (70)

Turning to his disciples, Ntsikana said : "Go and dig

a grave." They were astonished at his command because no one was yet dead, and they told him so. Moreover, they feared that Ngqika would punish them for digging a grave for someone who was still alive. But Ntsikana knew that his end was near. Taking a stick, he chose the spot for his grave and turned the first sod. His disciples then took over, toiling laboriously day after day with their digging sticks and hoes of sneezewood. (71)

Nxele had ordered his people to bury their dead, but Ntsikana was the first to have a Christian burial. Judging by his instructions, it seems certain that he followed Mrs. Williams's preparations for the burial of her husband. He occasionally visited the grave site to see how the work was progressing, and would lie down in the hole to check the measurements and show where it needed to be enlarged. One day after he had been lowered into the grave, he jokingly told his disciples to cover him with earth. Noyi was all for obeying the word of the mfundisi, but Matshaya refused saying : "Even a homeless wanderer, a Hottentot, must be quite dead and still before his body can be covered with soil." So they helped him out. (72) Ncamashe was instructed to cut down a large mhlunguthi tree (blue-black commiphora), and the stem was hollowed out for a coffin with the help of Matshaya and Noyi. (73) Ntsikana's concern for a Christian burial shows a new understanding of life after death and the Christian concept of resurrection, for there is an awareness of a lapse in time before becoming an ancestor.

Tradition relates that Ntsikana's last days were full of strange occurrences, similar to the day of his conversion. The Xhosa believed in the prophetic power of animals, (74) and Ntsikana's favourite ox, Hulushe, was said to be able to tell when an enemy was approaching, lowing in warning. The story goes :

> The night before Ntsikana's death, the cattle had broken out of the kraal and gone to the veldt. But early in the morning, just about sunrise, Hulushe returned of his own accord. No one knew of his coming, nor where the other cattle were. He walked straight to Ntsikana's hut and stood outside. No footsteps were heard so the people were astonished when the sick man suddenly asked who had driven back his ox. No one answered. Ntsikana rose up from his bed and went to the

door. Hulushe walked to the kraal and stood at the gate, looking at his master as if asking why he had changed so and walked with a slow step. When Ntsikana approached and stretched out his hand, the ox lowered its head. For a while the sick man leaned his body against Hulushe, with arms outstretched between the horns and on the ox's neck. This happened about the same time he was converted. But this time he was not reclining on the gate poles but on the ox, his body wasted by illness, saying farewell to his favourite. After he had done that, Ntsikana left the kraal never to enter it again, and Hulushe returned undriven to the veldt.

When Ntsikana reached his hut, he said to his people : "This is the ox on which I saw the bright sun's rays, The Rainbow. On the morning of the day I was renewed (ndasunguiwa), I saw the rays of the rainbow fixed on him, and also on me. Tell Ngqika that even he must have nothing to do with this ox when I am gone, nor with the cattle among which he stays. Even if they are captured in battle, they must not be fought for like others, nor killed. They are ingambi, i.e. unclean animals, and not for eating. (75)

According to Xhosa funeral customs, there was a ritual slaughtering of a beast, ukukhapa, to accompany the spirit of the departed to the abode of the dead. This took place on the day of burial, or soon afterwards, and it was often the favourite ox of the homestead head that was killed as provision for his journey. (76) When a chief was buried, a number of oxen would be driven into the kraal and kept moving around until the surface of the grave was flattened. These oxen were regarded as "impure" and were therefore not slaughtered. (77) Kropf gives the meaning of ingambi as anything which is ceremonially unclean. (78) Indeed, death brings with it what might phenomenologically be understood as uncleanness, and this is seen in the segregation of the spouse, supposed purification through washing and the burning of anything associated with the deceased including the hut in which he died, his possessions and clothing, and through fasting. (79)

In Secular World Affirming Religion, transcendence is symbolized by the division between holiness and uncleanness between which man moves. To approach one is to draw away

from the other. Therefore acts of purification symbolize this gulf. In Nature Religion, the gulf does not exist. Nevertheless, there are times, places, events, objects, people, filled with power, whether personally or impersonally conceived. They are tremendum et fascinans, immensely valuable yet highly dangerous. Transcendence is not the issue for the times, places, events, objects, people, are essentially part of the monistic world, as the hub is essentially part of the wheel. Whereas the Hebrews created a holy of holies to signify the presence of the holy other, birth, menstruation and death are essential parts of the life process and are taboo not because they are unclean, but because they are moments of power and danger. In Ntsikana's case, there is the understanding that Hulushe has been charged with power, hence the taboo about the ox remaining untouched together with the rest of his cattle which had become affected through association.

The prevailing custom at this time was for the chief to take all the property of a commoner on his death. Some chiefs exacted dues, isizi, while others took only part of the estate. (80) But Ngqika, who had extended the custom in a bid to augment his depleted herds, took possession of all the cattle of a deceased subject. Many of his people had deserted, in protest, to other chiefs, only to find that they were equally greedy. (81) Ntsikana's stand against Ngqika on this score was a test of the acceptance of his authority as the harbinger of the new.

6.2.2 Ntsikana's Last Words

In spite of his weak and wasted state, and suffering much pain, Ntsikana continued to meet regularly with his people for prayers, although no longer in the open but in his hut. He kept preaching the word of God to the end and they sang his hymns constantly. As death approached he addressed his children and disciples, in the African tradition the words of a dying man being treated as sacred and regarded as his last will and testament. (82) The earliest record of Ntsikana's last words is given by Brownlee about nine months after his death. Writing to Dr Philip, the L.M.S. superintendent in Cape Town, in January 1822, he said :

> On the day which Sicana [Ntsikana] died, all the people of the kraal met as usual for worship in the morning. He was present; and addressed his audience, in a very solemn manner, to the following effect - "I now speak

> to you for the last time, from a conviction that this day I shall die. It has pleased God to afflict me with sickness : but to this I have been resigned, knowing that God can both give health or disease as He sees fit; my soul and body are both in His hands. You are in the midst of wolves : therefore as quickly as possible remove to the Teacher, as he is the only friend you have in this land; and, rather than give up the service of God, suffer death; as the situation of all without Christ is wretched. They are dead and without God. On my decease go and say to all the Chiefs among the Caffres, that God's Word is sent among them, and they will do well to listen to it; otherwise they may expect the most serious consequences. (83)

In another letter Brownlee adds that Ntsikana told his people "how they were not to sorrow on his account and observe no heathen customs on account of his death." (84)

Ntsikana's last words show a submission to sickness and death which suggests the same sort of ultimate transition that Job made. Job finally submitted to God and repented, not of sin, but of his failing to trust. In so doing he came to a new consciousness of a fellowship with God - "not the God of traditional religion, but "the loving God"". As Anderson says : "Job in the moment of repentance was related to God himself in an act of personal faith." (85) The notion of growth in Ntsikana's understanding of the Christian tradition, of a move in the concept of sin, is a notion that if you are converted you are acceptable to God and saved, but then there remains the matter of growth toward perfection. Therefore sin is taken out of the judgemental context and placed in the context of inadequacy which has to be recognized and outgrown through grace. Ntsikana's looking toward the future, his submission to the call of God and non-resistance, and the trust among the "Foll-headed", shows a strong sense, not only of individual, but of corporate growth. The emphasis shifts from "hell-fire" to something which is more Catholic, the idea that conversion to Christ is the beginning of growth. This can be linked with the concept of new life in his hymn "Dalibom - Life Creator".

One way of charting Ntsikana's development is through his changing understanding of sin. Although the evidence is such that his precise move through the different phases cannot be charted exactly except that he reached the last

by the time of his death. Ntsikana moves from the corporate wholeness of the tradition, through a very African notion of transgression. the individual's transgression against a judgemental God, to an acceptance and submission. In the last there is a sense of the relationship with God not as judgemental, but as trust in growth under God through grace, although it now turns one much more to the sense of the community of the faithful.

Brownlee's account of Ntsikana's dying words naturally focusses on their mission-related aspect. The numerous sources in the Xhosa tradition are substantially in agreement, except that they add that which is more significant to the people themselves, expressed in an African idiom. After saying that it was God's will that he should be visited with this sickness, and that he bowed to God's will, tradition relates that Ntsikana turned to the people of his home, and said :

> I am going home to my Father. Do not, after I die, go back to live (enter) among the Xhosa (ema-Xoseni). I want you to go to Buluneli (Brownlee) at Gwali. Have nothing to do with the feasts, but keep a firm hold of the word of God. Always stick together, and be as close to one another as it were by a bond of union (njenge mbumba yamanyama). Should a rope be thrown round your neck, or a spear pierce your body, or be beaten with sticks, or struck with stones, whatever persecution comes upon you, on account of the word of God don't give way, keep it and stick to it and to each other.
>
> To my two sons I say, Kobe (the elder), you will be my backbone (ufundo lwam), and Dukwana, you will be my walking-stick (umsimelelo). Do not allow my children to return to the red clay and go among the Xhosa; take them to the school at Gwali. I am going home to my Father, to my Master! (86)

Tradition relates that Ntsikana was now exhausted. Turning to the person on whom he was leaning for support, he said, "Lay me down"; so saying, he quietly passed away.

Problems with translation and the transcribers' bias give Ntsikana's words different meanings. All the Xhosa sources follow the missionary line in interpreting his charge not to go among the Xhosa as meaning do not return to heathendom, or even "the barbarous and heathen customs"

of the Xhosa. (87) How much this stems from mission teaching of a later date it is difficult to say. Ntsikana certainly set the example of giving up red ochre, of always keeping his body covered, and of monogamy. He seems to have been against taking part in the ritual practices of the ancestor cult too. But there is no firm evidence as to whether his prohibitions included such customs as circumcision, lobola, etc. It is quite possible that he saw the move to the mission as requiring a more rigorous rejection of the old. This would be consonant with the necessity of making a drastic shift in loyalties to a new "flag", so as to produce a sense of belonging in the new situation, as found in the move to the Paradoxical Stage in Cumpsty's model.

Bokwe translates mbumba yamanyama as "the particles of a ball of cement", while Kropf gives it as "a gumball". In fact this term is used to denote the scrapings from the inside of an ox-hide which is being prepared as a cloak. The moistened flesh is rubbed off with a certain kind of stone, or scraped with an axe, until the hair roots show. When finished the scrapings are rolled into a ball which sticks together in an unbreakable mass when dry. (88) An African symbol is being used here to express the sense of solidarity and community which was no longer available to them in the Xhosa context, but which could still be found as Xhosa in the Christian one. However, as a symbol of unity it differs in nature from his earlier ones. Whereas the Poll-headed has a depth of meaning, relating to grace and non-violence, mbumba has no meaning other than what it is needed to achieve, i.e. unity.

Burns-Ncamashe maintains that Ntsikana was not only concerned with the unity of his followers, but with the unity of the Xhosa as a whole. He had in mind the breaking up of the Xhosa chiefdoms, the "rape" of their land, and the scattering of the people with some already going to settler farms as labourers. He saw that Xhosaland was shrinking in size and that the people would no longer be able to remain with their chiefs in a solid unit in a compact area. His idea was that despite the disintegration of their society they must still remain united. (89) The wider connotations of mbumba yamanyama are borne out by its historical significance. Ntsikana is regarded as being the first to use the phrase as a proverb, iqalo, meaning "unity is strength"; (90) and we shall be following the way it became a powerful integrating symbol as successive groups sought to draw on him in seeking legitimation.

Ntsikana's direction to his sons to be his back-bone and his walking-stick could mean "you are the future of my

line", or "you are my strength and support".(91) The idea of support is already present in the Xhosa custom of the Right Hand (or minor) Wife being appointed the iqadi or rafter to the Great Wife, and bearing a son for her, who would become chief should she not have a son of her own. (92) Kobe was the son of the Great Wife, Dukwana the son of the Right Hand Wife.

6.2.3 Burial

According to Brownlee, Ntsikana ordered his people not to follow the customary mourning and burial practices of the Xhosa after his death. For a start, he died in his hut, whereas someone approaching death would usually be dragged out to die in the veld so that the hut would not have to be burned. (93) Ntsikana's body was wrapped in "his great blanket of sleeping" and laid to rest in the coffin. Makapela Balfour recalls the burial, as follows :

> Alas! The wailings that were to be heard that came out from Mankazana ... They have never ceased ringing in my ears, me Makapela; even to this day. It was as if even the cliffs and the forests had joined in the wailing! He was buried by Noyi and Matshaya with a dignified service. His coffin was fastened with thongs made from ox-hide, not nailed as we do nowadays.
>
> And so the famous son of Gaba slept in the cold ground just at the age of real manhood. (94)

At the graveside, Noyi (baptized Robert Balfour) said words of comfort to the people, and Matshaya (baptized Charles Henry) prayed. They had of course been Mrs. Williams's chief assistants and knew what to do at a Christian burial. Afterwards, the people "mourned by slaughtering a beast". (95) This suggests that despite Ntsikana's orders, a beast was ritually killed "to accompany the dead". Ncamashe was again the messenger, taking the news to Ngqika and saying : "The man with the milk-bag of heaven ... has gone home." (96) Ngqika respected Ntsikana's wishes and would not allow his property to be seized for the chief according to custom. He said : "Sikana [Ntsikana] was a good man, touch nothing of his, let all remain for his family." Brownlee, who was on the spot, recalls that this was done. (97)

William Kobe, son of Ntsikana, relates that Hulushe

continued to act strangely after his master's death. The ox would go to the grave now and then, and lick the branches piled on it. He also tells of how, on one occasion, the ox tried to warn the people of the approach of the enemy by lowing. But they would not take note. A dumb man, coming from inspecting his animal traps, tried to pass on the ox's warning that they should leave, but they did not understand until it was too late and the enemy was upon them. (98)

The Xhosa believed that the spirit of a dead man could return in a favourite ox, but there is no suggestion of that here. If such an ox was slaughtered, only the family might eat of it. They would then burn all the bones at the gate of the cattle byre, and let the ashes be trodden down by the cattle as they went in and out. (99) Hulushe is believed to have been buried, some say near Ntsikana's grave, as would have been the case if he had been killed by lightning.

We have seen that burial in the earth was originally the prerogative of the chief, probably because of the symbolic relationship between the chief and the land, and his grave was sacred. (100) In the same way, Ntsikana's grave was seen as a link between his people and the ultimate reality, and it became a place of pilgrimage. Pilgrimages are about finding centres of power, if not the centre of power. The grave was covered by a mound of stones, and, like the izivivane, people would place a stone on the grave when visiting it, and pray. (101) Ntsikana was understood as being linked to God, and in the act of placing the stone they linked themselves to Ntsikana as their mediator.

NOTES - CHAPTER 6

1. Mbiti (1971); Shorter (1975) p.121.
2. Ray (1976).
3. Mbiti (1969) p.28.
4. Bokwe (1914) pp.23-4. See also Balfour and Z. Soga in Bokwe (1914) pp.56,61; Falati (1895) p.8; Kropf translation (1891) p.22; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.11; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p.10.
5. I am indebted to Prof. J.S. Cumpsty for this understanding of the role of Messiah. For a discussion of the messianic tradition in the Bible see Ndiokwere (1981) ch.14.
6. For "a fundamental reflection on the nature of the theological treatise on eschatology" see K. Rahner, "Eschatology" in Encyclopaedia of Theology edited by K. Rahner (London, 1975) pp. 434-8.
7. E.g. Isaiah 9 : 6; Daniel 7 : 13,18; Matthew 24 : 30,25 : 31; Mark 13 : 26,14 : 62; Luke 21 : 27; John 5 : 25; Revelation 1 : 13-18, 11 : 17-18, 12 : 10-12.
8. Cf. the prophecies of Chief Mohlomi of the Basuto (c 1720-1815) : Ellenberger (1912) pp. 90-7. Mohlomi was renowned as a herbalist, healer, rain-maker and prophet. He travelled extensively throughout South Africa, making his last journey in 1815. He claimed to have "communion with heaven" and during his last illness prophesied the coming of a famine and a cattle plague. This came true a few years later, the plague being called "Lefue la ma - Motohoane". Shortly before his death he warned that the spirits had spoken of a coming war : "After my death, a cloud of red dust will come out of the east and consume our tribes. The father will eat his children". This is said to refer to the Mfecane, the series of wars and migrations which began soon afterwards. But although Mohlomi warned of coming upheavals, his predictions were still according to traditional thought-patterns and there was no question of the Christian view of history moving towards an end. See also S.M. Mutswairo, Chaminuka, prophet of Zimbabwe (Washington, 1983).
9. Tobacco is thought to have been introduced by the Portuguese in the 16th century. It was cultivated in garden patches next to old kraals so as to be well fertilized. By the 19th century it had become an important item of trade to inland chiefdoms and hunting groups. It was smoked as well as being ground with aloe for snuff. Dagga was also widely grown and smoked : Alberti (1807) pp. 25-6; Alexander (1837) p.394; Fleming (1853) p. 112; Steedman (1835) p. 252; Theal (1910) p. 268; Vanderkemp (1804) p.438.
10. Theal I (1908) p.273. See also Alberti (1807) p.83.
11. Gitywa (1971) pp. 134-5. See also Thunberg I (1795) pp. 206-7.
12. A.C. Jordan, The Wrath of the Ancestors (Lovedale, 1980) p. 236
13. Berglund (1976) pp. 292-3, 333; Wilson (1971) pp.28-9. Bigalke (1969) p.111 n.7, notes that the sputum is covered with fine manure from the cattle kraal.
14. Fleming (1853) p. 112. Samuelson (1912) for the Zulu, pp. 71-4.
15. In the ox, the portion of meat taken from behind the shoulder blade, the isipeka, is thought to contain the most life giving properties and carry the greatest blessings. It therefore has a special ritual significance in the sacrificial killings. Laubscher (1975) pp.67-9.

16. Alberti (1807) pp.91-2 : the vanquished chief would have to recognize the victor as the principal chief, and give a vow of obedience. The women and children prisoners would be freed and a portion of the captured cattle returned. The Xhosa did not aim to annhilate their enemies by hunger. See also Soga (c 1931) pp.28-30.
17. Kropf (1915) pp. 25, 106.
18. Entry for 8 Sept. 1799 : Transactions I, p.392, where Vanderkemp refers to "Kacha hoogte", from the summit of which he first surveyed Kaffraria, as "the Hill of Difficulty".
19. Tiyo Soga finished translating the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress into Xhosa in November 1866. It was published at Lovedale the following year under the title U-Hambo lomHambi. Jordan (1973) p.39, regards it as having had "almost as great an influence on the Xhosa language as the Authorized Version of the Bible upon English". The second part was translated by Tiyo's son, John Henderson Soga, and published by S.P.C.K. in 1929.
20. Bokwe (1914) p.24.
21. Falati (1895) p.8.
22. Wauchope (1908) pp. 20-2.
23. E.g. A.T. Maboee makes the connection between the story of Christ and the Sotho Fable of Moshanyana Senkatana, the Boy of Senkatana : Modimo. Christian Theology in a Sotho Context, edited by B. Domeris and J. Hodgson (preliminary publication, Lumko, 1982) pp.4-11.
24. Theal (1882) pp. 148-54.
25. Revelation 1 : 13-16; Matthew 17 : 2; Acts 9 : 3.
26. Interviews with Mrs H. de Villiers, Stellenbosch, 22 March and 11 June 1977.
27. Gqoba (1885) p. 93.
28. Kropf (1915) p.31.
29. Theal (1882) pp. 127-32. See also "The Boy with the Iron Side" in Waters (1927) pp.20-2.
30. In the Sotho story of "Moliso-oa-lipoli" the husband is represented as having half his body made of shining iron : E. Jacottet, The Treasury of Ba-Suto Lore I (Morija, 1908) p. 158 n.1.
31. Fokker tells of a "son of the gods, half iron, half human, as being the actual origin of human kind and having astral quality" : quoted in H. Baumann, Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Volker (Berlin, 1936) p.60.
32. "Bulane and Senkepeng" in Jacottet, pp.152-9.
33. Xhosa : "Chief Bulane and his Heir" in F. Brownlee, Lion and Jackal (London, 1938) pp.151-4 (half-moon on breast); "The Wicked Chieftainess" in P. Savory, Xhosa Fire-side Tales (Cape Town, 1963) pp. 13-9 (no moon but same story); "The Child with the Moon on his Forehead" in Waters, pp.4-6 (moon on forehead). Sotho : "The Child with a Moon on his Breast - Ngoana ea Khoeli Sefubeng" in Jacottet, pp. 190-4 (in another version a number of the chief's children are born with the sign of a crescent moon or a star on their breast but only one has a full moon : Jacottet, p.192 n.1); "Die kind met die maan op die bors" in M. Postma, Legendes uit Basoetoland (Cape Town, 1954) pp.54-8. Bavenda : "The Chief with the Half-moon on his Chest" in H. Stayt, The Bavenda (London, 1931) pp.345-8. Bushmen : "The Man with the Full Moon on his Breast" in P.J. Schoeman, Hunters of the Desert Land (Cape Town, n.d.) pp.30-5.
34. "Morena-Y-A-Letsatsi or the Sun Chief" in M. Martin, Basutoland :

its Legends and Customs (London, 1903) pp. 144-54. Cf. Joseph's dream : Genesis 37 : 9.

35. For further discussion : H.A. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages II (2 vols., Oxford, 1919) p.330. He gives a list of roots for "iron" in various languages and decides that "the -ela root may be connected with -era, -ela, -ezi root for "to be white, to glitter"".

36. Qangule (1973) p.12. Cf. Berglund (1976) pp. 90, 144, 283. According to Sundkler, the luminary visions of the traditional dream life of the Zulu are interpreted among first generation Zionists as symbolizing the white of baptismal garments and a holy life : (1976) p.266. "Visions of light" which can take the form of a luminous white figure are one of the main stereotypes in the vocation-dreams of Africans called to the ministry : (1960) pp.24-5, 29.

37. Description from the Wakuluwe, a people living near the south end of Lake Tanganyika : Werner (1933) p.85.

38. The incident of the jealous sister killing her more successful rival seems to be modelled on a well-known story of two brothers, where one also kills the other by pushing him over a cliff into a deep pool of water. In one version the crime is brought to light by a bird perching on the horns of the ox for whose sake the murder was committed, in another, by the bird alone : "The Two Brothers" in Werner, pp.100-7, and K. Arnott (1962), Folklore of Southern Africa, edited by A.C. Partridge (Cape Town, 1973) pp. 67-71.

39. Kropf (1915) p.106.

40. See his poem "Aa! Sifuba-Sibanzi!" in Bennie (1935) pp. 189-91.

41. Kropf (1915) p.245.

42. W.W. Gqoba, "The Cause of the Cattle-Killing at the Nongqawuse Period" in Jordan (1973) pp. 70-5.

43. Gqoba (1973) p.74.

44. Z. Soga and Balfour in Bokwe (1914) pp.56,61.

45. Kropf (1915) p.83.

46. Nkonki (1968) p.163; interviews with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, kwaGwali, 18 Feb. 1979, and A.M.S. Sityana, Fort Hare, 16 July 1979. Peires (1981) p.48, states that Chieftainess Hoho exchanged her land for tobacco, dagga and dogs. Another tradition claims that Rharhabe installed Hoho as one of his lesser wives, and that the exchange of cattle was lobola : Umthombo, 1-13 Feb. 1982. Sityana gives the son of Hoho and Ndoda as Nontongwane, and says that he retired to Cathcart, giving the mountain nearby his name.

47. Duggan-Cronin, vol. 3 section 1 (1939).

48. N. Jabavu, The Ochre People (London, 1963; first S.A. edition, Johannesburg, 1982) p.54. Qangule (1978) pp.137-8, maintains that the word ndoda symbolizes "strength, valour, prowess, one who is involved in the affairs of his fellowmen, one who is circumcized and therefore qualifies to be a leader of his people".

49. S.E.K. Mqhayi, "Intaba kaNdoda" in Ityala lamawele, cited by Qangule (1978) p.173. See also W.M. Xaba, Lest We Forget (Goodwood, n.d. c1982) p.101.

50. J. Milton, The Edges of War (Cape Town, 1983) pp. 127, 186, 274-6. Mhlakaza is said to have pronounced that on 16 Aug. 1856 two suns would rise on Ntaba kaNdoda as a sign of the coming of the chiefs.

51. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, kwaGwali, 2 Feb.

1985. He flew over the mountain recently and actually saw water.

52. Kropf (1915) p.130.
53. The Cape Bushmen magician was called !gixa : Schapera (1965) p.196.
54. Nkonki (1968) p.163.
55. I am indebted to M. Hirst for his linking of the mythical snake with rainmaking.
56. Hunter (1961) pp.80-3.
57. Berglund (1976) pp.55-6.
58. Ibid., pp.60-2, 144-5, 183, 355-6.
59. Ibid., p.61. The inkatha is a python-skin ring stuffed with substances having powerful symbolic associations such as particles of fierce animals and the body-dirt and hair of past kings. It is believed to control the nation's solidarity and to destroy the power of other kings : Vilakazi (1946) p.157 n.13.
60. Cited in Qangule (1978) p.174. See also Sebe (c1980) pp.34-41.
61. Information from Prof. H.W. Pahl, Fort Hare, 13 Feb. 1985.
62. S.E.K. Mqhayi, "Ukutshona kukaMendi" (the sinking of the Mendi) in Bennie (1935).
63. In Ityala lamawele (Lovedale, 1914). For a translation of part of the poem see Xaba (c 1982) pp. 101-4.
64. Cited in Umthombo, 1-13 Feb. 1982. Cf. the prophecy of the Gikuyu seer who prophesied the coming of an iron snake with as many legs as a centipede and spitting fire, which would bring the white strangers into Kenya : Kenyatta (1938) p.42.
65. S.E.K. Mqhayi, Isikumbuzo zom Polofiti uNtsikana (Johannesburg, 1926).
66. Brownlee to Colonial Secretary, 27 June 1820 and 23 Nov. 1821. in Theal, Records of the Cape Colony XIII : p.173 and XIV : p.163; Brownlee cited in Philip II (1828) pp.191-4; Missionary Register, Jan. 1823, p.15.
67. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p.63 - he dates Ntsikana's death from the time of circumcision of Tshona, Xayimpi and Tyali Ngqika.
68. Bokwe (1914) p.28; Cumming papers no.438; Falati (1895) p.10; Kropf translation (1891) p.23; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.11; W.K. Ntsikana (1935) p.10: a blending of traditions.
69. T.B.Soga (1936) p.17.
70. Bokwe (1914) p.28; Cumming papers no.438; Falati (1985) p.10; Kropf translation (1981) p.23; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.11; W.K.Ntsikana (1935) p.10: a blending of traditions.
71. A piece of sneezewood, umthati, was flattened and sharpened at the digging end, and rounded for holding for the remainder of its length. It was about two feet in length : J.H. Soga (c 1931) p.393.
72. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) pp.62-3.
73. For the tradition on the digging of the grave and making the coffin : Bokwe, Ibali, Z. Soga, Balfour, Noyi in Bokwe (1914) pp.28, 49, 57, 62, 66; Callaway (1870) p.70; Cumming papers no.438; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.11; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p.10; T.B. Soga (1936) p.17.
74. J.H. Soga (c1931) pp.198-202. See also Anon., "Superstitions among the Native Races", CMM n.s. 10 : pp.156-60, 1875; Brownlee (1916) pp.244-5, 276-9; Callaway (1868) pp.130-1; Godfrey (1941); J.R.L. Kingon, "The Transition from Tribalism to Individualism", S.A. Journal of Science 16 : p.133, 1919; Willoughby (1932) pp.184-9.
75. Bokwe (1914) pp.28-9; Kropf translation (1891) pp.24-5; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1936) p.10. This is a blending of the

accounts.

76. The animal is sometimes referred to as inkomo yezila, the beast for mourning : Bigalke (1969) pp.79-80; Dwane (1979) p.122. See also W. Gqoba, Christian Express XV (181) : p.110, July 1885.
77. Alberti (1807) pp. 95-6.
78. Kropf (1915) p.281.
79. For detailed discriptions of funeral and mourning customs see Alberti (1807) pp.93-6; Brownlee in Thompson II (1827) pp.451-2; Kay (1833) pp.192-5, 198-201; J.H. Soga (c1931) ch. XVI; Vanderkemp, Transactions I, pp.434-5; Warner in Maclean (1858) pp.102-4. For an excellent overview see M. Hirst, "Some Ideas about Dying and Death among the Western Xhosa" (paper presented at the VIIth International Ethno-medicine Conference, Death and Dying : A Transcultural Comparative Analysis, April 1984, Heidelberg, West Germany).
80. J. Brownlee to Colonial Secretary, 19 Jan. 1821. RCC XIII : p.369.
81. Brownlee in Thompson II (1827) p.201; Collins in Moodie V (1809) p.p.16, 47. See also Peires (1981) pp.35-8.
82. Jordan (1980) pp.38, 220.
83. Brownlee to Philip, Jan. 1822, Glasgow Society Missionary Register Jan. 1823, p.15. See also Brownlee to Walker, G.M.S., 3 Aug. 1822, pp.19-20. See also Philip II (1828) p.187, in which he has Ntsikana exclaiming as he died : "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; I commit my soul into thy hands; it is thine, for thou has redeemed it by thy blood."
84. Brownlee, MS 1586 (172c), Grey Collection, S.A.L.
85. Anderson (1967) p.518.
86. See Bokwe, Ibali, I. Soga, Noyi in Bokwe (1914) pp.30, 49, 57, 66; Cumming papers no. 438; Falati (1895) pp. 10-11; Kropf translation (1891) pp. 25-6; B. Ntsikana (1902) p.12; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p.10; T.B. Soga (1936) pp.17-18 : a blending of traditions.
87. Falati (1895) p.11.
88. Campbell (1815) p.369; Kropf (1915) p.48. See also Gitywa (1971) p.111.
89. Interview with Chief S.M. Burns-Ncamashe, kwaGwali, 2 Feb. 1985.
90. Bud M'Belle (1903) p.71.
91. Information from nuns at Lumko Institute, 25 April 1985.
92. Kropf (1915) p.345.
93. See references in note 79.
94. Balfour in Bokwe (1914) p.63, see also p.30; Cumming papers no.438; W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) pp.11-12; T.B. Soga (1936) pp.17-18.
95. Noyi in Bokwe (1914) pp,66-7.
96. Kropf translation (1891) p.27.
97. Brownlee, 158c, Grey Collection.
98. W.K. Ntsikana in Bennie (1935) p.12.
99. Döhne (1844) p.58.
100. F. Brownlee (1944) ; Gluckman (1937) p.127.
101. Imvo Zabantsundu, 14 June 1910.